

THE
FRENCH IN BOSTON
IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THÈSE COMPLÉMENTAIRE POUR LE DOCTORAT ÈS LETTRES
PRÉSENTÉE
A LA FACULTÉ DES LETTRES DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DE PARIS

PAR
MAURICE LE BRETON
AGRÉGÉ DE L'UNIVERSITÉ

BORDEAUX
IMPRIMERIE DE L'UNIVERSITÉ
Y. CADORET
3, PLACE SAINT-CHRISTOLY, 3

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FOREWORD

The substance of this short essay has been drawn from documents in the following libraries : Harvard College Library, Massachusetts Historical Society, The Boston Atheneum, in America; the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, the Archives Nationales, and the Bibliothèque Nationale, in Paris.

As a rule, evidence is based on manuscripts, whenever that is possible. Books have been resorted to only in case of need and when they offer valuable documents otherwise unattainable.

Professors F. BALDENSPERGER and C. CESTRE are to be thanked for suggesting the idea of the work and supplying valuable information. I am indebted, besides, to MMrs. LANE of the Harvard College Library, Julius H. TUTTLE of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Charles K. BOLTON of the Boston Atheneum and M. ESPINAS of the Affaires Etrangères for their kindness in guiding my steps or allowing me to use important documents.

M. L. B.

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THE HUGUENOTS

The traveller from Charleston who happened to ride up to Boston in the early years of the eighteenth century might find it pleasant to while away time hobnobbing with mine host before crawling into bed in the cold, dark rooms upstairs.

« I don't know as to their numbers », mine host would say in reply to an inquiry from the Southerner. « But I should think they are not half so many here in Boston as you tell me they are down in Carolina. The climate does not seem to agree with those French people, though I wonder how they fare up in Canada, where it's pretty cold, too. Well, to come to our Huguenots, for that's their name, we see very few of them here, and those very poor. I have heard that some of them came over here as early as 1620 before old Winthrop settled on Shawmut Peninsula, as good as say they sailed on the *Mayflower*. That may be; anyway, you will be told about John Touton and Philip English, Frenchmen both, in spite of their names which they probably altered that way in England, for that's what they do, most of them, to make things easier with us. I don't think you will see many French refugees in the town, now-a-days. There was a time when you could have rid from Salem to Weymouth and back again and never come across any of them. Things have changed somewhat since the French King made life impossible for them over in France, but they don't stay in Boston, that's the point. A number of them will land on the wharf, now and then, poor downcast people, the worse for the long passage; and yet, they will resume their journey west, to make some settlement, God preserve them from the Indians and the Catholics! (1).

(1) « Ici à Boston », writes a French Protestant Refugee in 1687, « il n'y a pas plus de vingt familles françaises, et leur nombre diminue chaque jour, à cause de ceux qui partent pour la campagne acheter ou louer de la terre et essayer de s'y établir. » *Report of a French Protestant Refugee in Boston, 1687.*

Some tradesmen have settled here of late, nothing very important, you see, though they are shrewd fellows, I know, and might do well in the long run. What part of France do they come from, you ask? All I can tell you is the Rochelese sent us a deputation, about twenty years ago, asking for permission to settle in the Bay Colony (2). From what I have heard, I should think that many of these people were natives of places around La Rochelle. But what's that to us?

» We welcome them here as men who have suffered for their tenets, as our fathers did who left England a good while ago. Some of the citizens were not overjoyed to see the French among us, for they firmly believed that every Frenchman was a Papist and the late King did not bear Popery in his heart any more than our good Queen does. But it begins to be known abroad that neither the Statute Book nor King William's Charter may be invoked against them, they being Christians and the bitterest enemies of all that Catholicity stands for. And what if they should found a Church here? I know some who wonder what's the good of introducing foreign forms of worship into the land our fathers made pure for us. You, as a Southerner, will probably smile at our suspiciousness, though that's a good thing on the whole. But we have really no ground for complaint; those Frenchmen seem to be as well-behaved as any one of us, more so, in fact, than some people I know, ...but that's neither here nor there. I mean to say we should be glad to see them thrive in our land if only they could organise themselves into a Church and stop their quarrelling as to who shall be the pastor, a debate which did them no good with our peaceful, God-fearing folk some years ago (3). That Daillé, or whatever his name, seems to have settled the matter and made himself acknowledged as the minister of the French Church, though you are not to believe there's anything like a French Meeting-house in the town. They have been allowed to meet in the Latin School-house till they get rich enough to build a proper place of worship (4). Note our late King has bestowed upon them a certain amount of money with which to

(2) In 1680.

(3) An allusion to the rivalry between Van den Bosch, Bonrepos, Bondet and Ezechiel Carré before the coming of Pierre Daillé.

(4) « On the twenty-fourth day of November 1687, the Council granted liberty to the French Congregation 'to meete in the Latine School-house att Boston as desired'. » BAIRD, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America*, II, 221.

acquire land, and they are now raising a public subscription towards building the church, though I don't know that it will be a success, considering the present condition of the Colony which has run deeply into debt as a consequence of the recent wars⁽³⁾.

» Well, the best thing for you to do if you are anxious to see some of those Frenchmen is to find yourself in the Free School House when they come to worship. »

The service was just over when the traveller respectfully accosted the Reverend Pierre Daillé and, with a generous gift for his church, inquired about the condition of the French refugees in the town.

« Praised be the good people of Boston », the minister answered, « for their truly liberal attitude in welcoming us to the shores of Massachusetts. But I, as the pastor of the French Church, am particularly grateful to them for what they did in behalf of my poor, scattered flock. They have allowed me from the first to celebrate divine service in this school, or rather in the buildings that were taken down last year, and have granted us the liberty to meet again in the new school⁽⁶⁾. The General Assembly of Massachusetts to which I personally applied for help in 1700, after I had struggled four years in utmost misery, was pleased to grant me

(3) « In 1704, the Congregation sought leave to solicit money from well-disposed persons for the building of a Church. » BAIRD, *loc. cit.* « Upon a Representation made by Mr. Daillé Minister and the Elders of the French Protestant Church in Boston That His Late Majesty King William, had bestowed on them Eighty-three pounds to be Employed towards building them a House for the Publick Worship of God, setting forth, That they have purchased a piece of Land in Schoolhouse Lane in Boston for that use, Praying to be Licensed to aske and receive the Benevolence of well-disposed persons that shall be willing to encourage so pious a worke to assist them in the said Building : Advised That License be accordingly granted and the moneys thereby collected to be put into the hands of Simeon Stoddard Esqr. and to be applyed for the use aforesd. and no other, And the House when built to be forever continued and improved for religious worship. » *Massachusetts Archives*, Vol. LXXXI, p. 472, Minutes of Council, Jan. 12, 1704.

(6) « At a meeting of the Selectmen the 29th day of Janry. Whereas the Congregation of French Protestants have for some years past had their Publick Meetings for the worship of God in the Free School House in Boston, and that they for some months past have mett in another convenient room while the said School House was taken down and a more commodious one built in the room thereof, the wch. House being now finished, it is Voted that the Said F. Congregation have the Liberty to meet in Sd. new School House for the worship of God as formerly they did in the old. » *A Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston containing the Records of Boston Selectmen, 1701 to 1715, 1884*, Vol. II.

twelve pounds on the public treasury for the maintenance of my church (7). My faithful elders, John Tarlaron, Francis Bredon, and John Dupuis, bought the land of one James Mears with the money the late King William gave us for that purpose (8). I hope to see our church built on that site before I die, should circumstances allow it, and this province be spared the horrors of war. Meanwhile, when my thoughts go back to the old country, where we left the tombs of our fathers, I pray God every day for the confusion of those who were the cause of our exile. » (9).

The wish of Daillé remained unfulfilled. He died before the meeting-house was erected. An appeal to the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (1706) failed to procure any money (10). Yet, the minister made no complaint against the hardness of the times or the distrust of some of the narrower Puritan sectarians. « A person of great Piety, Charity, affable and courteous Behaviour, and of an exemplary Life and Conversation » (11), he was entirely devoted to his flock and to the country which had welcomed him. Banished from France as early as 1683, when a young man of 34, he had left the College of Saumur for England, most probably, whence the Consistory of the Reformed Church called him to New-York. Whether related or not to the famous Daillé, the theologian, his name was a household word among the Protestant refugees and his character won him the respect of all whom he approached.

Let us not, then, view with horror what we should now call his want of patriotism. « This letter (about the victories of Prince Eugene) », writes Professor Chinard (12), « raises a question which cannot yet be thoroughly dealt with... We should like to be able to determine just how far those people who had been brought up on French soil... could adopt a new turn of mind, take up a new nationality ». It is a well-nigh impossible task to imagine the way they felt and thought. All we can do is to gather typical facts and

(7) BAIRD, *op. cit.*, Ch. XI.

(8) *New England Historical Register*, XIII, Pp. 315-324. Brief Memoir of Andrew Le Mercier.

(9) See BAIRD, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*, a letter of Daillé to a Frenchman in Narragansett, in which he rejoices over the victories of Marlborough and Prince Eugene. See also CHINARD, *Les Réfugiés Huguenots en Amérique*, Part. II, Ch. II.

(10) BAIRD, II, 235.

(11) *The Boston News Letter*, on P. Daillé.

(12) *Loc. cit.*

leave the conclusion to emerge from them. When we know what were the feelings of a good man like Daillé, when we see that his successor Lemercier went further still, when we are confronted with the attitude of men like Légaré in South Carolina or Nicholas Bayard in New-York inspiring their children with the hatred of France or writing anti-French literature (13), we are inclined to think that the times saw nothing particularly wicked in the act. The feeling must have been a common one, for we cannot suppose a minister like Daillé to be more averse to the forgiveness of injuries than the rest of the flock. Only their ideals were mainly religious.

When Pierre Daillé died (1715) (14), the Elders of the Church consulted and begged one of the Protestant tradesmen of Boston, then in London on business, to look around him for a minister. An enterprising young man was wanted for none but a spirited pastor would be willing to preside over such a poor flock as the French Church in Boston, now persecution in Europe was not so severe as it used to be a quarter of a century before. The Congregation, however, were not so poor but they could offer the newcomer one hundred pounds for his salary. It so happened that a young student, fresh from the academy of Geneva, closed in with the offer. André Lemercier, a native of Caen, whose ambition reached farther than his means, sailed for America to fill the place of Daillé in Boston (15).

1716.—A Meeting House has been built and André Lemercier is to consecrate it to-day (16). André Faneuil, who engaged him in London, is present with his nephew Peter, a lad of sixteen (17).

(13) H. M. JONES, *America and French Culture*, P. 502 and note.

(14) When laborers were excavating a cellar on the Emmons estate, on Pleasant Street, they suddenly uncovered the stone which bore the following inscription :

» Here lyes ye body of ye/Reverend Mr. Peter/Daille Minister of ye/French Church in/Boston died the /21 of May 1715/In the 67 year/Of his age. »

DRAKE, *Old Landmarks in Boston*, p. 64.

(15) *New England Historical Register*, *loc. cit.* « He was in exceedingly low circumstances when he came to settle with us. » Reply of the Elders of the Church to the Petition of A. Le Mercier.

(16) « About the year 1716, a Meeting House was built on said Land, which is now known by the name of the French Meeting House in said Boston, where, by the Blessing of God, your Peter has performed divine Service to this Time. » *New England Historical Register*, *loc. cit.*

(17) Peter Faneuil was the eldest son of Benjamin Faneuil of Narragansett who married Aimée Bureau on July 28, 1699, and had 11 children. Peter Faneuil was born on June 20, 1700, and died on March 3, 1743.

Around the Elders, James Beaudoin, Daniel Johannot, Andrew Sigourney, Jacques Paquinet, or, rather, Mr. James Packenett, Pierre Chârdon, the merchant, Jean-Paul Mascarene and others less conspicuous are gathered; all listen to the sermon of the pastor.

They are well pleased with him. The new minister has proved a good theologian enough for those simple merchants, and, what they appreciate perhaps still more, a good knower of men. There is less of reverie in him than in Daillé, and more of the qualities of the man of action. He is ardent in his zeal and flexible in his policy. He is ambitious for himself and, consequently, for his church. He is not averse to a bit of flattery, has a very high opinion of himself and evinces an implacable hatred for the enemies of the Reformed Creed. Good old Daillé may lie at rest : the French Church has a head.

How aptly chosen the text of that sermon of Lemer cier ! *Celebrarunt Israelitae, sacerdotes ac Levitae et reliqui reduces deportationis, dedicationem domus eius Dei cum gaudio. Ezra, VI, 16.* A little pompous, perhaps, under the circumstances, but doubly true in the land of the Puritans. And who knows but the common fate of both Huguenots and Puritans may have inclined the literary mind of Lemer cier to ignore what frictions there were between the first French refugees and the narrower sectarians of the Bay Colony. « Nos igitur », he exclaims in his sumptuous Latin, « postquam in commodata domo per annos viginta nostrum cultum publice Deo exhibuimus, tandem per Dei gratiam et munificentiam tum Magistratuum cum Ministrorum et Populi huius urbis domum omnipotenti Deo ereximus, quae est veluti nostrum posterius templum... In hoc etiam gloriamur quod maximus Rex Guillelmus tertius nobis dedit munere unde hoc solum in quo templum nostrum fundatum est, emeremus. » (18). For the first time in Boston, the French Church thus affirmed its will to live through the organ of its new minister. The whole sermon reads more like a proclamation than anything else. It is a hymn of thanksgiving full of the pathos, bombast, and redundancies of a youthful orator who might have become a successful politician, had he not chosen to be a priest.

From the first, André Lemer cier was a most conspicuous member of the French Colony. Of his private life little is known. The

(18) Massachusetts Historical Society Library, MSS. *Sermons of Andrew Le Mercier*. This Sermon, Lemer cier says in his Preface to his *Treatise on Detraction*, was delivered « but soon after his arrival ».

author of a Memoir on our worthy Minister finds no record of his marriage, though it can be said that the name of his wife was Margaret. They had six children between 1720 and 1727. His public life, on the contrary, is well-known. Lemer cier was one of those men who would organise a debating society in a desert island. His versatility and activity are quite remarkable. He had not been long in Boston before he found that his salary, which he had imagined to be more adequate than it was (19), would not allow him and his family to get on decently. He may possibly have taught French, and he is very probably the author of a pamphlet on the French tongue which was printed in Boston by B. Green in 1724 (20). The dedication of the little book is signed A. L. M. and some details plead in favour of Lemer cier's authorship. The quotation from the Scriptures and from Augustine on the title-page is perhaps a characteristic feature, not to mention the careful scholastic division of the subject-matter for which the sermons of this minister are chiefly remarkable. Then, it seems quite natural that an 'intellectuel' like Lemer cier should work to make his own language better known among the Americans.

While thus turning his French origin to good account, our Norman viewed with some envy the condition of those refugees who had dropped the French nationality altogether. He was glad, of course, to give one more proof of gratitude to the British Crown, but gladder still to know he could escape the somewhat ambiguous position he was in by getting naturalised. A petition was presented to the Governor and the General Court of Massachusetts at the February Session, 1731, by André Lemer cier, Daniel Johonnot, André Sigourney Senior, John Petel, and Adam Duchezeau (21), showing that

(19) See *New England Register*, loc. cit.

(20) See *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, Vol. XVII, p. 118. The title of the pamphlet is :

Some/Observations/upon the/French Tongue/concerning/I-The Nature of the French Tongue./II-The Excellency of it./III-The Extent of it./IV-The Usefulness of it./V.-Remarks for those who have a mind to learn French.

Go to, let us go down, and there confound/their language, that they may not under-/stand one another's speech. Gen. XI. ver. 7./Scientia signorum instar./August.

Boston in N. E./Printed by B. Green. 1724.

(21) A German Protestant, Martin Brimmer, signed with them. See *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, Vol. IV (1838-1860), pp. 337-364. Naturalisation in the American Colonies.

« ...the petitioners were forced to leave their native country of France on account of the Protestant religion, in which they had been bred up and professed and for which some of the petitioners have been greatly persecuted and distressed... The most part of them have, for almost the space of forty years and upwards (during which time they have chiefly resided in this country), behaved themselves justly to their neighbours, and in their respective callings, with unshaken fidelity towards the government here, and the Crown of Great Britain; and have been allways subjected as well as to pay rates and taxes, as also to bear offices of constable, etc... which several of them have sustained and executed with great faithfulness in their respective dutys; so that they hope, by the favour of this Great and General Court (which is well-known at all times to act with great equity, and to relieve, when they can, the distressed) that as they have been always subject to the dutys, so they may be intitled to all the privileges of a denizen, or natural-born subject, of his Majesty's, so far as is consistent with the power & justice of this Great and General Court... »

A Bill to that effect was introduced into the House of Representatives, enacted March 16 and approved by Governor Belcher on the 2nd of April. The petitioners, with the exception of Duchezeau, appeared before the Governor and Council on the 12th of April and were naturalised.

Meanwhile André Lemer cier was learning English; nay, he meant to leave his mark on New-England letters. The publication of a pamphlet on the French tongue was not likely to bring him fame. He then remembered he had been a student at Geneva, and in 1732 he was able to publish his *magnum opus*, *The Church History of Geneva*, followed by a *Political and Geographical Account of that Republick*⁽²²⁾. The next year saw the publication of a third book : *A Treatise against Detraction*.

(22) *The Church History of Geneva, in Five Books*. As also a *Political and Geographical Account of that Republick*; By the Reverend Mr. Andrew Le Mercier/Pastor of the French Church in Boston.—Boston, New-England; Sold by S. Gerrish, and other Booksellers/1732 (220 pages).

In the same volume :

A/Geographical and Political/Account/of the Republick/of/Geneva/containing an Exact Description/of it's Situation, publick Buildings, the/Lake and the River *Rhone*, it's Trade/Academy, Territorys, Fortifications,/Interests, etc.../Wherein the Mistakes of a great many/English & French Authors are rectified/By the Author of the Church History of/Geneva/Boston in New-England/Printed by B. Green, and Sold by the/Booksellers. 1732./ (76 pp.).

Lemercier is fully aware of his limitations. « I must desire the reader », he writes in the Preface of his *Treatise*, « to excuse some Phrases that may be improper or obscure as this Work was first composed in the *French* language, and the Translation is kept very close to the *French*, the turn and genius of which differs considerably from the *English*. » Yet, on the whole, as a linguist, an historian and a philosopher, Lemercier's place in the New-England literature of the time is honourable. His productions were not above the honest mean, but they might rank with those of contemporary authors like Thomas Prince or Wm. Douglass. Lemercier, however, had more than one string to his bow and he showed it. He was something of a pamphleteer and a poet, to boot. He took part in a controversy between the different sects in Boston and wrote some *Remarks* on a Pamphlet by one John Presbyter⁽²³⁾. Then, in 1747, he tried his hand at a poem : *The Christian Baptism* which is just above the ridiculous.

His sermons are more interesting, as they throw some light on curious aspects of eighteenth century Boston. We have been picturing to ourselves for years Puritan New-England as a gloomy community with simple manners and no taste for worldly goods. Would to God it were so ! Lemercier exclaims, shaking his head. But Luxury will be the ruin of us : look at the women around you. « Je n'avance ici rien sans preuve. Il ne faut qu'avoir des yeux pour reconnoître que les femmes dans cette ville portent la somptuosité des habits infiniment plus haut et plus loin que ne font les hommes ; dont l'ambition la plus en vogue n'est pas d'être eux-mêmes vetus somptueusement, mais que leur femme le soit... Pour ce qui regarde le tems et le lieu où nous vivons à présent il faut avouer que la maniere des femmes d'aiuster leurs cheveux ne demande pas beaucoup de tems, et à mon avis il serait à souhaiter que la mode qui a la vogue maintenant à ce sujet put durer fort longtems, de peur qu'après elle il n'en vienne quelque une de pire... »⁽²⁴⁾.

(23) Massachusetts Historical Society Library.. In-4°, 17 pp. (mentioned by Baird, *loc. cit.*, as doubtful).

(24) Mass. Hist. Soc. Library, MSS. *Sermon* 35, sur la 1^{re} Epître de St. Pierre. Ps. 3, 4 & 5, Ch. 3^o.—Cf. *Sermon* 37, Sur St. Pierre, Ch. 3^o Ps. 3^o : Le Luxe : « Bien loin qu'il face quelque bien à ce pays, c'est certainement ce qui le mine tous les iours. Ce sont les superfluités qu'on apporte ici d'Angleterre qui font que les retours qu'on y envoie ne suffisent pas pour payer les dettes qu'on y contracte pour ces vanités ; de là vient que les lettres de change sur l'Angleterre deviennent extrêmement rares ; cette rareté les rend plus chères, et cette cherté fait hausser le prix de tout au grand préjudice du commerce. »

Lemercier's activities were not purely literary. In 1738, he sent in a request to the Government of Nova Scotia asking to be granted the property of the Isle of Sables, a dangerous island off that coast, where he meant to build a hut for shipwrecked sailors and rear cattle which might be of some use in such cases (25). Now and then the papers publish protests from Lemercier against cattle-robbers (26). By 1753, however, he had ceased to take any interest in the island and advertised it for sale. The advertisement itself was his last literary piece of work (27).

As to the relations between the minister of the French Church and the authorities of the Colony, they seem to have been unusually good. Whatever difficulties the Church may have experienced, it was responsible for. Lemercier never tired of praising the generous attitude of the Boston people and government (28). He wanted to be known as a faithful subject of the British Crown and he could bring proof of his attachment. In 1744, Col. William Pepperrell of Maine led an expedition against Louisbourg and took the town after a six weeks' siege. Zechariah Andrew Lemercier, a son of the clergyman, a young man of 20, served with the British troops as a 'linguister', and his father availed himself of the fact to try to get a lieutenant's commission for him. « My son », he wrote, « hath by him a plan of Louisbourg and the fortifications of the town, drawn by himself, which (as Captain Loring saith) is truer than any extant, & might be of some use in this expedition. » (29). This is going further than Daillé's ill-humour. A month later, Lemercier writes on the same subject. He reminds Col. Wm. Pepperrell that nothing has yet been done in favour of his son (30), but the letter had apparently no success, for we find Lemercier writing again to the same a year later, asking the Colonel to « help him to some

(25) BRISSOT, *Voyages*, p. 104. « Nous ne passâmes pas fort loin de cette île de Sable, l'effroi des voyageurs, et où tant de vaisseaux se sont perdus, et se perdent tous les ans. Elle est très peu élevée au dessus du niveau de la mer; et comme elle est presque toujours couverte de brouillards, il est difficile de l'apercevoir. Cette île n'est habitée que par une seule famille, et par des animaux sauvages que le gouvernement d'Angleterre a fait transporter pour le secours des voyageurs que l'infortune jette sur cette terre stérile. »

(26) See *Boston Evening Post*, Jan. 30, 1744. *News Letter*, Feb. 26, 1747.

(27) See *News Letter*, Feb. 8, 1753. and *New England Hist. Register. loc. cit.*

(28) See Preface of his *Treatise on Detraction*.

(29) Mass. Hist. Soc. Library MSS. To Wm. Pepperrell. Boston, 8th of February, 1744/5. (*Pepperrell Papers*, Vol. V, 102-103.)

(30) Boston, March 6, 1744/5.

office or anything else » (31). Meanwhile he had not failed to send Sir Wm. Pepperrell his most hearty congratulations on the taking of Louisburg (32). Yet, as good and evil are strangely mixed in everyone of us, the good fellow gave hospitality to at least one family of refugees from that town, a most charitable act, considering he was the father of six, and Mrs. Lacarrett, the refugee, her children and servants were Roman Catholics. But as to that, Lemer cier was confident he would make Protestants of them by-and-by (33). Four months after, Mrs. La Carrete still found it hard to accept Lemer cier's ideas on transsubstantiation. There was some hope, yet, for the lady, he writes, « is a very agreeable and sensible gentlewoman and wick is very rare among the French Papistes is the reading the Bible that she does dayly, having one of their ownes translation, but I have lent her a good large one in folio with anotation » (34). I regret to say we do not know the result of Lemer cier's apostolic zeal.

A few more worshippers would have been welcome at the French Church. The congregation was getting smaller and smaller every year. Huguenot emigration to America was reduced to nothing, now, and the children of the older refugees were born Americans and went to the American churches. Lemer cier was obliged to put up with circumstances he could not help, and that caused him bitter grief. « For years last past », he writes in the Petition of 1748, « the Male Communicants and Subscribers in said Church were about Twenty and now reduced to about seven. » (35).

André Faneuil was dead, and his nephew Peter, dead, too. The former died in 1738, leaving his fortune to the young man who then became the richest merchant in Boston after Hancock. Peter was a good supporter of the Church and a worthy representative of French culture in New-England, though born on American soil. What a *bon vivant* and a gourmet! He took life more in the French than in the American way, would order books from France and never depart from the French habits of his father and uncle. He was both strict in business and generous in his gifts, as the people

(31) Boston, April 18, 1746.

(32) Boston, November 14, 1745.

(33) « As to their souls, I will as opportunity serves to shew them the errors of their ways. » To Wm. Pepperrell, Nov. 14, 1745.

(34) To Wm. Pepperrell. Boston, ye 25 March, 1746.

(35) *New England Historical Register*, loc. cit.

of Boston well knew, for he had built them a hall to use as a market and meeting-place, that same Faneuil Hall, destroyed by fire in 1761 and rebuilt, which eventually came to be « the cradle of American Liberty ». He died five years only after his uncle, in 1743, and left no child.

James Beaudoin, too, was dead, and Daniel Johonnot and Sigourney. The French Church was going to pieces, Lemer cier thought, and how was he to live in Boston where prices were going up every year, while he was now on the wrong side of fifty, and not half so active as he used to be ? Yet, the older refugees had proved generous. Not only had his salary been paid regularly, but they had occasionally given him bounties which showed that they appreciated his services. André Faneuil had left him one hundred and seventy pounds a year, James Beaudoin, twenty pounds a year; Johonnot and Sigourney had bequeathed him a hundred pounds by will (36). He was not without some private means, to be sure, and, as he thought, he saw the little estate he had bought at Dorchester, twenty-five years ago, the meadow and the apple-trees and the small cottage where he meant to spend his old age. But he knew how uncertain life is, and he might die before his son Zechariah had any taste for anything, and his children were many : so, our good Norman mused and wondered how he might end his life peaceably.

1748. — Never was Lemer cier's practical genius more stimulated. He is on good terms with the American authorities, his congregation is reduced to almost nothing. What is the good of having a French Church in Boston ? thinks the minister, though not in a disinterested way. He takes his quill, and writes to the General Court of Massachusetts : « So it is, that by the will of God, in taking to him several of the principal supports of the said Church, and the succeeding generation, altogether educated in the English tongue, frequenting and belonging to the English Churches, the said Congregation is thereby rendered incapable of paying even the same annual nominal sum (37) ...and without burdening those few beyond what their Circumstances can bear, your Peter and four children, can no longer be supported. » He then concludes by asking to be allowed to sell the land and building of the French Church to one Mr. Edward Jackson. Even in commercial Boston, a minister advertising his church for sale was something unheard of. The General

(36) *New-England Historical Register*, *loc. cit.*

(37) His salary of £. 100. See *New-England Hist. Reg.*, *loc. cit.*

Court wisely submitted the petition of André Lemer cier to the approval of the Elders of the French Church. These gentlemen, a little startled, gave a very forcible answer. « We think it a Pre-sumption of his », they wrote, « & an Imposition on Your Excy. and Honrs. to bring such weak Reasons in order to drive us off from our Church... He says he had but £.100 per annum when he first settled & we promised him no more, altho' we do give him considerable more, and may appear from his Receipts sufficient to maintain his Family in a handsome manner & purchase a considerable Estate... » They recalled the generous gifts of the Faneuils and Beau-doins and finally proposed to give him £.1650 on the price of the land and house.

It is not clear whether the Court followed Lemer cier's suggestions. Suffice it to say the property was sold for £.3000 to the Eleventh Congregational Society recently gathered together under the pastorship of the Reverend Andrew Crosswell. « The deed of sale contained a proviso that the property should remain for the sole use of a Protestant Church for the worship of Almighty God, from henceforth and forever more » (38). Now, this same church, sold in 1785, at the dissolution of the Congregational Society, was bought by the Roman Catholics who celebrated mass in it, for the first time in Boston, on Nov. 2, 1788.

On March 15, 1748, « the Revd. Andrew Le Mercier » appeared before the Selectmen and « desired to have the Liberty for the French Congregation at present but small, to meet in the South Grammar School in order for carrying on the Publick Worship on the Lord's Day, as they are deprived of a place of meeting at present » (39). Soon after, Lemer cier left Boston for Dorchester and there he died on March 31, 1764, after a long illness.

One may safely assert that, by 1750, the French Huguenots had been absorbed by the Puritan community. What had they brought it? Baird, who is apt to get enthusiastic over his heroes, is of opinion that « they brought a buoyancy and a cheerfulness that must have been contagious, even amidst pervading austerity. They brought a love for the beautiful, that showed itself in the culture of flowers. They brought religious convictions that were not the less firm because accompanied by a certain moderation and pliancy in

(38) MERRITT, *Sketches of the three earliest catholic priests in Boston*, p. 173. See DRAKE, *op. cit.*, 41.

(39) *Selectmen's Records*.

things not held of vital importance. They brought a love for liberty that was none the less sincere because associated with a tolerance learned in the school of suffering. Boston surely gained by the admission of an element in its population that possessed these traits. And the mispronounced names from beyond the seas that stand out so boldly on the pages of its history, names such as Bowdoin, and Faneuil, and Revere, recall in the flight of the Huguenots to those shores an episode not only pathetic, but important also for its bearing upon social and public life and typical of character in New-England » (40).

It cannot be denied that the French Huguenots were possessed of remarkable qualities; energy, to begin with, and an enterprising spirit. Then, their sufferings and the heroic way those were borne would, of course, win them the heart of a Puritan environment. Besides, they seem to have been individually noteworthy for more worldly accomplishments, for it is a notable fact that the names of so many of them should have survived, considering their small numbers. What is more doubtful is their influence on a community of 5,000 to 10,000 where new immigrants were constantly pouring in. A man like Faneuil who grew to become a rich merchant and had kept so many French traits about him would certainly be a very conspicuous figure in the town and help his fellow-citizens to get a fair idea of the average French middle-class of the time. But they could not go much deeper. Language was, at first, an obstacle and when that came to be removed, through the assimilation of the younger generation of refugees, the latter had lost much of their typical French traits. It does not appear that they ever tried to explain to the people of New-England the true nature of the French character, or ever rose against the legends with which British propaganda filled the newspapers of the land, for it never occurred to any of the French sailors or soldiers whom the Revolution brought to America to trace the slightest French influence in the people. As to the Bostonians, they behaved as if they had never seen a Frenchman before. Indeed, much of the misunderstanding that clouds the first days of the coöperation has its origin in the mutual ignorance and distrust of the two nations. Yet, the last Faneuil died in 1743, and Daillé, in 1764, twelve years before the first French soldiers came to help in the Revolution.

Curiosity for things French was not altogether dead in New-

(40) BAIRD, *op. cit.*, II, 253.

England. The Bostonians were not blind to the « excellency » or « usefulness » of the French tongue. Not only were books from France imported by the Huguenots, though the general ignorance of the language would limit their influence within narrow bounds, but pamphlets, generally of a special character, were printed in French at Boston⁽⁴¹⁾. It is true these cannot be made to denote any longing for French culture in the people, as they were chiefly intended for propaganda across the border. From that point of view, at least, the inhabitants of the Bay Colony were perfectly aware of the usefulness of French as a language.

The aim of Thomas Blair who published as early as 1720 *Some Short and Easy Rules Teaching the True Pronunciation of the French Language* was obviously higher. In the dedication of his book to John Leverett, President of Harvard College, Blair insists on the humanistic value of the language he teaches. « Sir », he writes, « the language of *Versailles* is look'd upon as a distinguishing Ornament in all the courts of Europe. »⁽⁴²⁾. The argument does not strike us as typically Puritan and the fact that it was at all brought forth would seem to imply some aspiration to certain polite forms of civilisation that were embodied in French culture.

Of course, the main obstacle to a development of French culture in New-England was of a religious character. Neither the catholicism of the France of Louis XIV, nor the deism of later days could escape the censure of the Puritans. The word French with them was too closely allied to extreme narrowness of views or loose morals, and often both. So, while quite willing to learn the language, because so « useful » and so « distinguishing », they were not all disposed to let French ideas be preached to them under that disguise. This Louis Langloiserie learnt to his cost⁽⁴³⁾.

He was a Canadian who had gone to New-York in 1725, a young man of 30, and had entered the family of Governor Burnet. In 1728, Burnet went to Boston and Langloiserie followed him there. The

(41) Professor H. M. Jones quotes the following : *A. B. C. des Chrétiens*, printed by B. Green (P), 1711. John Hill : *De par son Excellence M. Jean Hill, Général et Commandant en Chef des Troupes de Sa Majesté Britannique*, Boston, chez B. Green, 1711 (Broadside Folio). Two Translations of Cotton Mather's Sermons : *Le Vrai Patron des Saines Paroles* (Boston, 1704) and *Voix du Ciel à la France* (Boston, 1724). See *America and French Culture*, 181.

(42) See *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, Vol. XVII, pp. 216-232. The Teaching of French at Harvard College before 1750.

(43) *Ibid.*

latter was instrumental, we may believe, in organising the *French Club* which was formed then by Burnet, a society which met for the purpose of talking French and discussing matters related to France. It was an interesting, but short-lived attempt, for no one took it up at the death of its inspirer, which happened in Boston, thirteen months after, September 1729. Langloiserie was thrown on his own resources and confronted with the problem of earning a living in a town where he had not too many friends. He then begged and obtained permission to open a school and advertised it in the papers, informing the public he taught the rudiments of the French tongue « at Mr. Timothy Green's Printer in Queen Street » (44).

Three years after, it was rumoured abroad that Harvard College wanted a teacher of French Language. This was not strictly true, for French was no regular part of the curriculum. The truth was that the Faculty were inclined to grant permission to some individual of their choice to teach French to such as desired to learn it. This, Thomas Blair had done for a while and now Langloiserie begged to be allowed to do the same. On September 1, 1733, the Faculty granted his request, « provided yt he takes such times for his Instructions, as shall not interfere with any of the College Studying hours or Exercises ».

Used as he was to the discussions of the French Club, Langloiserie must have found it exceedingly tedious to teach the rudiments of French, for he soon learned to vary his methods and even change the nature of his lessons altogether. In April 1735, he was accused of « holding and delivering unsound and dangerous doctrines », from an extra-philological point of view, and of professing « dangerous Errors » not mainly grammatical. Those « errors » are explained in a pamphlet by the Revd. Edw. Wigglesworth. Langloiserie, it appears, had personal ideas on religion, and would expose them to his pupils, without caring for the consequences. Among the articles of his faith were the following : « the unlawfulness of Magistracy among Christians, and consequently of any temporal Punishment for evil-Doers from men; that Punishment from God in the Future State would be sure not to be eternal... That a standing Ministry, Ordinances, the Christian Sabbath, and Social Worship, were all without warrant from the New Testament. » Besides, he was expecting a second Messiah.

Whether the Faculty could make head or tail of it is not sure.

(44) Oct. 21, 1730.

One thing was certain : they had never heard of it before; and that anarchistic optimism would not do in New-England. It was therefore voted on the 13th of May 1735, « That the Presidents and Tutors have not Power by any Law to introduce or permit any person to Instruct Scholars in arts or Languages in this Society... That it be recommended to the Corporation to take due care as to the principles of such persons as shall from time to time be chosen by them into any office for instruction and that no person chosen into such an office shal be accepted or continued who refused when desired to give satisfaction to this Board as to their principles in religion. » Consequently, the permission granted to Langloiserie was declared void and he was dismissed. « He has since returned to the Idolatries of the Church of Rome », writes Wigglesworth, « from which he had professed himself a sincere convert ». If so, he must have brought serious corrections to his credo; but Langloiserie's religious experience looks rich enough to admit of a little extra.

In view of such general diffidence and suspiciousness, it seems wellnigh impossible that French influence in New-England should have been widespread. When Langloiserie was cashiered, nobody took his place until 1746, when one Mr. Gardner is supposed to have taught French for two years. So, even the higher classes in Boston would have to learn French as best they could, granted that prejudices and the ceaseless attacks of British propaganda did not dissuade them from wasting their time on such an unworthy study. When the French officers of the army and navy came to Boston in the days of the Revolution, conversation with the American authorities had to be held in Latin.

« The English Colonies », writes Professor H. M. Jones, « partake of the policy of the mother country which was, with intervals of calm, anti-French. Naturally, therefore, out of this war of Protestant and Catholic, of Briton and Gaul, there springs a remarkable detestation of the French, which prevailed in America until about 1770. » (43). Though eclipsed by the campaigns of the Revolution, it can be said that something of that feeling persisted to the last years of the XVIIIth Century. Winsor in his *Memorial History of Boston* has aptly condensed the elements of the question. — « Under the stress of the French and Indian wars, no foreigner could sojourn in Boston without being suspected a French spy; and if a Frenchman, a Papist. There were those still living who could remember when

(43) H. M. JONES, *op. cit.*, 304.

Governor Belcher issued the warrant, March 17, 1731, now preserved in the Charity Building, directing the Sheriff of Suffolk to search for Papists who joined with their priest speedily designed to celebrate mass; and, if need be, to break open any dwelling-house, &c... Accompanying this warrant is a list of such Papists in Boston, largely men-servants, &c... » (46).

It is very difficult to know anything positive of that « invisible church » in Boston, for obvious reasons. Its members left very little trace of their passage save that series of warrants and laws directed against them. Those Papists were of course Canadian French people who had left New France for motives which it was their interest to conceal and preferred to live a miserable life in a hostile community. Public opinion would be raised against them, however, now and then, witness that warrant of Gov. Belcher, though the good people of Boston might well tolerate the presence among them of useful—and cheap—serving men, even though they were Roman Catholics. In 1744, however, war broke out with France, preparations were being made for an expedition against Louisburg, and the Bostonians thought there were too many undesirable Frenchmen in their town, who might be a cause of trouble. The Selectmen, then, made an application to the Justices of the Peace for the imprisonment of those foreigners (47). Now and then, a fit of ill-humour is discernible in the records of the Selectmen. One Peter Gebande is not allowed to keep any school in the town (48). Peter Simons, « a Native of Old France and married at Rhode Island » had been bold enough to bring his wife to Boston. It was immediately ordered « That he attend His Excellency and not presume to walk the Streets until he has leave according to law. » (49).

(46) *Op. cit.*, I, 169, note.

(47) « At a Meeting of the Selectmen, May 13, 1744 : The Selectmen made the following Application to Two of H. M.'s Justices of the Peace, relating to Persons of the French Nation, now resident in this Town, 13, May, 1744.

» Pursuant to a Law, of this Province made in the Fourth Year of King William and Queen Mary, we the Subscribers, Selectmen of the Town of Boston, having good Information that Persons of the French nation have lately been seen walking in the Street and are still Residt. in the Town do make this our Complaint thereof and Applications to your Honours that all such Persons be forthwith Committed to Prison there to Remain until Released by Order of the Gouvernour and Council... » *Selectmen's Records*, Vol. 17, p. 67.

(48) *Ibid.*, p. 79. Aug. 13, 1744.

(49) *Ibid.*, p. 83. Sept. 12, 1744.

As time wore on, the fit of gallophobia lost much of its intensity. The practical disposition of the Bostonians did not allow it to last overmuch. A harbour is a good place for smuggling and French gold was appreciated by unscrupulous Boston merchants. They would send arms over the border, in spite of the state of war. An Act was passed by « the Great and General Court or Assembly of His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England Begun and Held at Boston upon Wednesday the twenty-eighth Day of May 1755... for the more effectual Prevention of Supplies of Provisions, and Warlike Stores to the French, from any Parts of this Province » (30).

About that time, a third kind of French people was to be seen in the streets of Boston, the poorest of all, the Acadians whom the British authorities were driving from their homes after they had refused to take the oath of allegiance (31). Though British subjects since the Peace of Utrecht, the « French Neutrals », as they were called, had not ceased to be faithful to French ideals. Their passage through Boston is only an episode of the lamentable exodus of that people. They moved the pity of the Bostonians who often gave them aid. It appears from the Records of the Selectmen that a number of Acadians were helped out of public funds (32). The main desire of the authorities, however, seems to have been to drive them farther south, for, as late as 1766, we read in the Records that « Mr. Hancock is Desired to confer with the Hon. Mr. Tyler respect'g the French Neutrals and obtain a List of them and Deliver it to Mr. Goldthwait to See if they are Warn'd out » (33). Though not strictly Frenchmen, yet the Acadians symbolised the French race in the eyes of the Bostonians and when, years later, they watched the first French seamen on the wharf, expecting « gaunt, half-starved, *soupmâigre* crews » (34), no doubt their eyes were still full of the vision of the starving Acadian families packed in the British ships that put into Boston harbour to leave the sick and the dead behind.

After the Treaty of Paris, the French were admitted in great numbers. Commercial relations between France and New-England or between Boston and the West Indies were more active and emigrants

(30) *Publ. Col. Soc. Mass.*, Vol. 4, p. 419.

(31) See POIRIER (Pascal), *Des Acadiens déportés à Boston en 1755* (Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada). Ottawa, 1909.

(32) *Selectmen's Records*, Vol. 20, p. 192, 240, 241, 262, &c.

(33) *Ibid.*, p. 219.

(34) See *The Recollections of Samuel Breck*.

would now and then come to Boston, especially from the Isles. There was no immigration law as yet, but an enquiry was held on each individual case before admission. Jean Charpotot « from Paris last from St. Lucy with a wife and one child » was granted liberty to carry on the baking business « provided that he behaves himself to the acceptance of the Inhabitants » (35). Even so late as 1774, after the Boston Tea-Party, religious toleration was not officially established, for Francis Vaidale (or, Vandale), « of Tours in the Province of Tournay (?) », who had applied to the Selectmen for leave to open a school and teach French, was authorised to do so only after « having produced Credentials of his being a Protestant, and having attended their Assemblies, which Corresponded with his own declaration. » (36).

(35) *Selectmen's Records*, Vol. 23, p. 96.

(36) *Ibid.*, p. 243. March 16, 1774.

II

SAILORS AND SOLDIERS

After Lexington and Concord, public opinion in France was all in favour of the Insurgents, and the people of Boston were the prototypes of the heroes of American Liberty. The Boston Massacre, the Boston Tea-Party, the battles around Boston had made the name of that town very popular in France. In fact, in many broadsides and songs, Boston stands for America. Little was known of the psychology of the people on the other side of the Ocean. The French only knew that the Americans had resisted the exigencies of the British Crown, and taken arms against their old enemies. They hailed the news with joy.

Many Frenchmen came over with the vague idea of 'helping' in a sympathetic cause. They offered their services which were not always accepted. There was a sufficient number of infantry officers and the Americans easily found instructors for their troops. The problem was how to face British artillery. The few guns that had been taken at Ticonderoga were obviously not sufficient for a campaign, even though no heavy artillery preparation was needed. On the other side, with no ally to supply them with ammunition, and no industry to make cannon, the responsibility of the leaders of the Revolution was tremendous. Fortunately, a Frenchman found his way to America, who was most instrumental in creating American Artillery.

« Ils ont fort peu de canons », Bougainville notes in his *Diary*, while in Boston harbour with the Fleet of d'Estaing (1). « Un Français est venu ici pour leur en faire. » Then, a few days later, he adds : « Le 16, il est venu ici le Directeur de l'Artillerie américaine,

(1) Bibliothèque nationale. MSS. Fonds Français. Nlles Acquisitions, 9409, F^o 122. Dimanche 13 septembre 1778.

avec 50 ouvriers... Le Directeur de l'Artillerie est en même temps à la tête des fonderies de canon & de l'exploitation des mines; il m'a promis des échantillons de toutes celles qu'on a jusqu'à présent découvertes. Cet homme important dans cet état au berceau est est un Français et se nomme... » (2). We can supply Bougainville with the name : this man was Marie-Louis Ansart de Maresquelle.

The names of Lafayette, Steuben, and Major Lenfant are justly famous. They are known as instructors of the American infantry. De Maresquelle would still be unknown but for the investigations of Mr. Fitz-Henry Smith Jr. who is responsible for whatever information we have on this chapter of Franco-American relations (3).

M. L. Ansart de Maresquelle, born 1742, came to America as early as 1776. His father had invented a new way of casting and reaming guns, and the revolt of the Colonies proved a good opportunity for testing the new invention. No time was lost : the Frenchman had an interview with the American authorities, contracted to make one gun per day, under a £.1000 penalty.

In return, he was to be awarded a Colonel's commission, his passage to America would be paid (it was a matter of about \$. 300) and he would receive \$.1000 a year for the time of the war, then \$.666 2/3 for life after the war (4). Soon after, it was found necessary to intensify the manufacture of artillery; founderies were built, and de Maresquelle had to form engineers able to control them. The following document in the Boston Public Library is a curious illustration of the extension of American Ordnance Services under de Maresquelle (5).

(2) *Ibid.*, F^o 123. Vendredi 18 septembre.

(3) See SMITH (Fitz-Henry, Jr.), *The French in Boston during the Revolution*, with particular reference to the French Fleets and Fortifications in the harbour. Privately printed, 1913, pp. 69. (Eighty copies reprinted from the *Publications of the Bostonian Society*.); Prof. H. M. Jones, who writes in his careful study of French influence on America, that « an interesting and important influence on American educational policy is found in the department of military instruction » does not mention de Maresquelle.

(4) SMITH *op. cit.*, and *Court Records*, XXXVI, p. 298.

(5) Boston Public Library. Mss. Ch. Fr. 2. 24. Another document in the same Library is a receipt signed by A. de M. (C. I. 95). « The Honble. Board of War to Lewis Maresquelle Dr.

1780, June 21.

To my Expences to Boston to Reem two Cannons at the Laboratory, for the Ship Mars, and going to Bridgewater to compleat them... L. 483. 4. Errors excepted.

LEWIS DE MARESQUELLE.

(Pay it).

State of Massachusetts Bay
Boston Jany. 22d. 1777.

Whereas the General Assembly of this State have contracted with Monsieur Maresquelle to carry on the Foundry of solid Cannon from the Ore, & the Boreing & Polishing them upon a new construction, & whereas the mode of Employing Col. Maresquelle is referred by the Honble. Court to the Board of War, & the Board are of opinion it will be more for the Benefit of this State that the works should be undertaken at Keiths Furnace, so called, to be Hired in behalf of this State by Col. Orr, & also at the Air Furnace erected at Bridgwater by this State, under said Orr's direction.

It is agreed with Col. Maresquelle that the communication of his method of casting boreing & constructing the solid Cannon to Col. ORR & doing the Business at the Furnace aforesaid, shall be no Obstruction to the Emoluments of the Contract with this State, as Col. Orr acknowledges he is unacquainted with the curious & usefull Invention for boreing solid Cannon & also of casting them from the Ore. —But upon Certificate being given by a Committee to be appointed, that the Cannon thus constructed are effectual, the Contract shall be deemed to all Intents and Purposes performed on Col. Maresquelle's part, as fully as if the Business was done at Works erected for the sole purpose of sd. Maresquelle.

The President of the Board of War Hugh Orr Esqre. & Col. Maresquelles having hereunto set their Hands & Seals in witness to this Agreement.

THO. CRAFTS
T. W. LORING AUSTIN.

SAM PHPS. SAVAGE
in behalf of the Board.
HUGH ORR
DE MARESQUELLE.

The salary of de Maresquelle was paid to his death which occurred in 1804 (6). On December 9, 1781, he had married in Boston Catharine Wimble who gave him eight children, three sons and five daughters. In 1793, he asked to drop the appellation de Maresquelle from his name and was naturalised as Mr. Lewis Ansart. He seems to have been a modest, matter-of-fact engineer, satisfied with his lot. He lacked the brilliancy of some of the officers who were to serve with the Insurgents, later on, but he occupied a high position in the State and was useful.

Others were more picturesque and give us more of the picaresque aspect of the times. Preudhomme de Borre, for example, is perfectly unknown, and perhaps deserves to be, but he will detain us here for a while, as the prototype of the adventurers who found in the

(6) At Dracut, Mass., May 22.

American campaign a natural outlet for their fighting instinct, and as one of the very first sketchers of New-England life and people.

The weather was fair and the winds exceptionally favourable when the *Mercure*, a French merchant vessel of 14, left Paimbœuf on the 31st of January 1777 (7). The name reminds us of one of the ships equipped by Beaumarchais for the firm Rodrigue Hortalès and Co., and indeed, the owner, one M. Pelletier, of Nantes, must have known something about it, for when they sailed from St. Nazaire on the 5th of February, Preudhomme de Borre noted in his Diary that they had left France « avec vent arrière pour aller à boston ou dans quelque port des Colonies unies de l'Amérique pour Lesquelles notre vaisseau étoit chargé De munition, comme fusils, poudre; Draps, toiles, bas, souliers, bonet &c... » After an unusually short passage (about 40 days), they arrived at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on March 17, whence Preudhomme de Borre sailed for Boston on the 23rd. « Le 23 », he writes, « Je partis pour Boston d'où je mandai mon arrivée au Congrès et à Monsieur le General Washington, j'y sejournei en attendant la reponse que je reçu le 3 De May.

» Le 8 May je partis de Boston aiant reçu les ordres du General Washington de venir le joindre a son Quartier General a Moristown éloigné de boston de 260 mil, ses ordres contenoient l'approbation du Congres qui etoit à philadelphie De tout mon Contrat fait à paris avec M. Deane... »

Our hero, then, stayed only a few days in Boston and saw nothing of the French colony there. But his impressions on the American people, though written in the rough, slipshod way of an untaught soldier, are perhaps the first, and certainly the freshest and sincerest ever put together by a Frenchman of that generation. They are nothing if not crude, but that very crudity stamps them as genuine. Sailors, soldiers and travellers will write on the same subject, later on, too many of them prejudiced or biased. The crude matter-of-factness of Preudhomme de Borre writing

avec la liberté

D'un soldat qui sait mal farder la vérité

often outweighs the literary preciosities of the Chastelluxes, Robins and Brissots of later days.

(7) See Archives Nationales. MSS. *Marine* B. 144. The staff of the ship was composed of Captain Héraud, Mate Chalumeau, Second Mate Leprestre.

« Le sexe est beau à Boston, » he observes, « Le teint des femmes Le plus Blau, Les Dents vilaines, beaucoup brèche Dent, communement Des beaux yeux et De la phisionomie sans esprit, point ou peu D'éducation, fort peu de politesse, Les femmes se tiennent mal aucun souci de Leur gorge qu'elles enferment comme elle se trouve dans Leur Corps ce qui les applatit et les rend pendantes jusque sur le ventre quand elles sont vièles, Leur têtes assez parées avec Des chapeaux pour se garantir du soleil; ces Chapeaux sont beaux enjolivés de ruban, mousseline, Dentelles Leurs robes assez jolies et Depuis la Servante jusqu'à la plus riche presque toujours en robe serree jusqu'à La taille; Des pieds gros et longs, La jambe forte, très peu de talons, quelquunes touchent du clavecin, beaucoup De Liberté tant qu'elles sont filles, L'amant fait sa cour publiquement embrasse sa maîtresse Lui prend Les mains, se met dans un coin de la chambre avec elle, ou passeront dans une autre chambre pour etre plus a leur aise, vont se promener seuls et souvent pendant Deux ou trois jours a la Campagne; Quand elles Deviennent femmes elles sont tres sages, on ne voit point De femmes galantes, le baiser est toujours sur la bouche.

» Tout le monde vit mal selon notre gout, viandes bouillies et roties, ils en mangent beaucoup et peu de pain, point de ragout ny soupe beaucoup de choux; pommes de terre qui Leur sert de pain, beaucoup de viandes salées, cochons, jambons, mettant le Tout Dans une meme Assiette, l'arrosant De beure, s'essuiant la bouche avec La nape (il n'y a point de serviettes) mangant avec le bout D'un couteau qui est arrondi et des fourchettes de fer à Deux Dents, buvant tous dans le meme pot ou jare hommes et femmes et buvant beaucoup à la fin du Dîner, (c'est a dire Les hommes) on ote la nappe, on met Des bouteilles sur La Table, buvant l'un apres l'autre cette bouteille avec le ver passe de main en main; quelques hommes fument autour de la table D'autres mâchent du tabac qui est un grand ragout parmi eux, on Conche Deux ou trois dans le meme Lit selon sa Grandeur, sans se Connoitre Tout Lit de plume dans le Nord de l'Amerique, un homme qui arrive à une hoberge qui Demande a se coucher, on L'Envoie dans votre Lit, si vous estes Seul, ils font Leur 3 repas, Le Déjeuné qui est au thé ou caffé avec du Lait Le Dîner, et Le Souper. Leger comme Le Dejeuner et ils se couchent tout de suite, les hommes sont plus mal éduqués que les femmes, ils s'étendent, allongent leurs jambes sur Des chaises, rotent sans se gêner, se gratent comme s'ils avoient mil poux, nonchalant sans ame sans esprit et fort yvrognes, vivant au jour la journée, point de provision, quand la derniere buche est sur le feu

on va au bois; c'est une nation toute neuve, leur religion est partout tres libre, on va a l'église quand on veut le Dimanche, ceux qui y vont sont tres decemment ils ne font rien ce jour Là; c'est comme un jour de retraite a croire que, Dans la plus grande ville il n'y a pas cent personnes, La grande marque D'amitié, est de se prendre La main, La serrer et la secouer. »

No doubt it was hard work for him to write so many lines at the same time; yet, as Preudhomme de Borre had no reason to be harsh on people who granted him what he desired, the absolute sincerity of his impressions cannot be doubted.

The honest *Mercure* was not the only ship that brought smuggled goods to American ports in those troubled times. Before the Treaty of February 6, 1778, Boston was, and had always been indeed, an active centre of smuggling. No doubt the ships of Hortalès and Co. often had Boston for their destination, though, for obvious reasons, no records were kept of such visits. On one occasion, however, circumstances made it possible to see into the gentle art of smuggling, when the firm Bosmarin, Raimbaux, et Cie., of Bordeaux, sent one of their ships, *Duchesse de Mortemart*, to Boston and the Isles (8). The ship sailed on February 17, 1777 and was in Boston harbour at some date between February and September of that year when she arrived at Cap Français. From several documents, it appears that twenty hundredweights of gunpowder had been stored in the hold of the *Duchesse de Mortemart* in the absence of the Sieur Decamps, the captain, who was not aware of the fact. At the same time, a letter from one Roullhac (probably an agent of the firm in Boston), dated May 18, acknowledged the receipt of twelve boxes and three bales for which no bill of lading had been procured. This is only an episode of the unlawful business that was going on in Boston before the French Alliance.

On the very day when d'Estaing's fleet sailed from Toulon (April 13, 1778), great rejoicings were celebrated in Boston at the American Coffee House to greet the news from Europe. The recognition of the Independence of the Colonies filled the Bostonians with joy and for the first time in New-England the health of the King of France was proposed (9). The news spread rapidly and, as usual,

(8) See *Revue Historique de Bordeaux*, Sept.-Oct. 1927, pp. 214-226. Les Premières Relations Commerciales entre Bordeaux et les Etats-Unis d'Amérique (1773-1789) (Marvin McCord Lowes).

(9) See FAY (Bernard), *L'Esprit Révolutionnaire en France et aux Etats-Unis*, p. 71.

suffered slight alteration as they spread. Good Dr. Nathaniel Ames of Dedham, Mass., heard of it one April morning and wrote the following entry in his Diary : « April 19—News that our Independence is acknowledged by France arrived in a Vessel sent by French King on purpose. » (10).

No wonder, then, that de Sainneville, who knew nothing about the diplomatic victories of Franklin, should have been greeted by the mob as an *envoyé* from France to Congress when his frigate *La Nymphe* sailed into Boston harbour on the Fifth of May. On that occasion, Dr. Ames briefly noted in his Journal : « May 15—French Ambassador said to be in Boston incog. on his way to Congress. » The rumour was not false, it was only premature. Conrad-Alexandre Gérard de Rayneval was on the wave, aboard one of the vessels of d'Estaing and was not to view land until July 9. Meanwhile, in the hey-day of their enthusiasm, the Boston people and authorities showed themselves as eager to welcome the first vessel of the King of France to enter their harbour as they had been suspicious of anything French, a few years before. De Sainneville was granted extraordinary honours, which he did not fully understand until he heard about the Treaty of Alliance. But then, his position was rather awkward, for he had no official mission and brought no message from France to America. So, he kept his head cool and his eyes about him; as he was a good observer, his notes show as clearly as possible the feelings of the Bostonians on that occasion.

« Après midy », he writes (11), « la Brise ayant changé, la frégate appareilla et vint mouiller dans la rade de Baston (12). Cet événement produisit deux sensations bien différentes parmi les habitants qui s'étoient tous rendus au bord de la mer. Les Royalistes ou Torys s'enfuirent sur le champ et allèrent cacher leur dépit; le reste de la multitude de tous rangs, de tout âge, s'empressoient autour de moi, venoient me toucher la main, m'écouter, m'accompagner, et ne me quittoient que pour jeter des regards satisfaits sur le pavillon du Roi qui flotloit pour la première fois au centre des vaisseaux américains. Ce spectacle fut vraiment un des plus intéressants

(10) The *Dedham Historical Register*. Diary of Dr. Nathaniel Ames of Dedham, Mass. Published by the D. H. S., Vol. IV, p. 24, 1893.

(11) Archives Nationales, MSS. Marine B. 141. See also LACOUR-GAYET, *La Marine Militaire Française sous le règne de Louis XVI*, Chap. VII, 147 ff.

(12) De Sainneville, like the greater part of the French of pre-revolutionary days, writes *Baston*, a spelling based on the local pronunciation of the name of the town by the inhabitants.

dont j'aye jamais joui. La joye leur avait tourné la tete au point de leur faire croire que j'aurais salué la place. Je n'eus garde de faire une pareille avance, et j'ai sçu depuis qu'ils avoient regreté de ne m'avoir pas salué les premiers. »

Then came the visits to Hancock and Heath; de Sainneville was the guest of the Assembly of Massachusetts « assemblée », he says, « uniquement pour avoir le plaisir de me recevoir. » There was a great dinner, of course, which lasted four hours. Nine healths were drunk, though not altogether in due form, for which the President begged de Sainneville to excuse him. « On n'est pas surpris du désordre de toutes ces santés, » notes the latter, « quand on sait que le Maître des Cérémonies ne connoissoit après Baston que son village ». Our officer has deeper remarks. On the point of leaving Boston, he writes the following lines which show him to have been fully aware of the delicacy of his mission, more so, indeed, than some of the ambassadors who came later. « Le bon ordre qui regnoit dans mon vaisseau, joint à la circonspection que nous avons observée dans nos propos, et dans nos manières n'a pas peu contribué à détruire les préjugés dans lesquels les Américains étoient nourris contre nous. Il est plus important qu'on l'imagine que le Ministre ait égard au Caractère et au genre d'esprit des officiers qu'on enverra montrer le pavillon français sur ces côtes. » And in a Memoir dated June 15, 1778, he notes his personal observations on the American people : « La communication isolée des Américains avec l'Angleterre Leur en a fait contracter les usages; ils sont tant qu'ils sont présent gouvernés par Les memes Loix, Leurs manieres sont simples; mais tiennent un peu de la rudesse angloise relativement aux notres; ils vivent sans Luxe. Le fanatisme de la Liberté Leur a mis Les armes à La main pour se soustraire à l'oppression, mais sans donner à Leurs ames L'énergie que Le sentiment devoit inspirer, parce qu'ils sont foibles et indolents. » Yet, he has no doubt as to the future of the country. « Quelque soit L'Etat actuel de L'Amérique, on peut prévoir, par sa vaste Etendue, par Les différents Climats des Provinces qui la Composent, qu'après quelques crises qui surviennent toujours dans un Etat naissant, et une Communication universelle avec Les peuples Eclairés de l'Europe, Elle deviendra une puissance formidable & pourra un jour pourvoir par elle-même à tous Les besoins réels ou de Luxe que comportera sa population telle qu'elle puisse etre. »

Great expectations had been raised in Boston by the visit of the frigate *La Nymphe*. De Sainneville seemed like the harbinger of the Fleet which was nearing. It was hoped that d'Estaing would scare

away the squadrons of Admiral Howe and help to raise the siege of Newport. The Americans, indeed, realised that only a French fleet could be a match for the British ships that guarded their coasts and they were anxious to know how France was preparing for the naval encounters which were to free them from the English navy (13). They would have hailed d'Estaing as their saviour, had he filled their expectations. But d'Estaing lost much time in the Mediterranean, came too late in sight of the American coast, missed Howe by a few days, was unable to do anything for Newport, suffered a terrific storm off Rhode Island on the tenth of August, and put into Boston at length, not as a conqueror laden with the spoils of the enemy, but as the admiral of a war-worn, weather-beaten, wind-tossed squadron which badly wanted refitting.

In one sense d'Estaing was the champion of America in the fight against the British and there was no doubt he had been defeated. On this occasion, the Americans only saw the peril they were running through the failure of their champion, and their exalted hopes gave place to a feeling of bitterness which showed that their sympathy for France was not yet above a question of self-interest. Sullivan published a very ill-humoured interpretation of the operations of the French Fleet, which did much to embitter public opinion. That faithful mirror of the average contemporary mind, Dr. Ames, in his dryasdust Diary, tells the story from the American point of view :

July 14—Count d'Estaing appears with French fleet for us & raises grand expectations then disappoints them in the End at Rhode Island.

August 23—French fleet deserted the siege of Newport.

The Tories who had fled so promptly on de Sainneville's arrival not only stayed in the town but fostered trouble to the best of their ability. Every prejudice which 150 years of British propaganda had kept alive in the minds of the Boston people proved as rampant as ever and the visit of de Sainneville was clean forgotten. « Every vulgar story told by John Bull about Frenchmen living on salad and frogs was implicitly believed by Brother Jonathan, even by men of edu-

(13) LACOUR-GAYET, *op. cit.*, p. 147. « Reçu par le conseil du pays (de Sainneville) se vit l'objet de nombreuses questions; que pensait-il, en particulier, des intentions de la France à propos de ses armements maritimes ? 'Je répondis à cette dernière question d'une manière précise en apparence, mais qui, au fond, ne disait rien'.

cation. » (14). Years later the Abbé Robin was told that the French were looked upon in those days by the Americans « as a people bowed down beneath the yoke of despotism, given up to superstition,* slavery and prejudice, mere idolaters in their public worship, in short, a kind of light, nimble machines, deformed to the last degree; incapable of anything solid or consistent; entirely taken up with the dressing of their hair and painting their faces; without delicacy or fidelity and paying no respect even to the most sacred obligations... At the arrival of the Count d'Estaing, the people here were much surprised to find that the French were not such weak, diminutive and deformed little mortals as their prejudices had painted them; they, however, at last concluded that the Count and the people in his fleet had been picked out on purpose, in order to give them a more advantageous idea of the nation. Some coloured figures having accidentally stained one of the dressing-cloths, confirmed them in the opinion that the French made use of vermilion to colour their faces » (15).

On the French side, the feelings were not very friendly, either. Sailors and soldiers had been 140 days at sea in the worst of conditions. Many were ill (16), the disembarkment at Rhode Island had proved a failure, the storm had shaken them terribly, the men were angry with their officers who never gave them an opportunity of going ashore, the officers were angry with the sailors who were not so good as they might have been, dissatisfied with the ships which were old and unfit for service (17), and all were angry with d'Estaing who was not a sailor (18), and with the Americans who had so malignantly interpreted their successive failures. Add to this the extreme difficulty of finding food and repair in a town of about 10,000 obviously unprepared for the accommodation of troops and the refitting of a large fleet.

(14) See Samuel BRECK, *Recollections*.

(15) *New Travels through North America* (Translated by Philip Freneau). Philadelphia, 1783, pp. 49-20.

(16) On the *Guerrier*, Capt. Bougainville, 13 men had died during the passage.

(17) See *Journal de Bougainville*. F^o 72. « Nous partons donc sans aucune disposition faite, sans rôle de quart ni de combat et avec un équipage dont les trois quarts ne connaissent ni les manœuvres ni le canon ni la mer. Aussi ont-ils presque tous le mal de mer. Dieu nous garde à la sortie... Tout le jeu des voiles que nous avons en vergue a 20 ans et les voiles latines sont horriblement mal faites... Quel enfer d'être chargé de ce vaisseau armé comme il est. »

(18) See *Extrait du Journal d'un Officier de la Marine de l'Escadre de Monsieur le Comte d'Estaing*, Paris, 1782.

The squadron arrived off Nantasket on Friday, August 28, 1778, and sailed into the harbour on the following day⁽¹⁹⁾. The authorities, whatever their private feelings may have been, were most enthusiastic in their welcome and tried to ignore the mutual ill-will that recent events had developed in the population and in the French fleet. The list of feasts and receptions held on that occasion either at the house of the Governor or on board the *Languedoc* is a long one, indeed, but both the French and the Americans realised that there was some misunderstanding between them which time had to clear up. « The popular welcome in Boston, » says an official American document⁽²⁰⁾, « was not over-demonstrative ».

The worst was yet to come, and did come, a few days later, on the 8th of September. On his arriving at Boston, d'Estaing had been anxious to supply the sailors and soldiers with bread and a bakery had been established on the continent. On the evening of Tuesday, Sept. 8, some seamen, whether British prisoners on parole, privateersmen, or Americans (it has never been known which) came to the bakery and asked for bread. The French bakers refused to give any, the others tried to take it; blows were exchanged. No officer was present, and there was no sentry⁽²¹⁾. « Monsieur de Saint-Sauveur, Lieutenant de Vaisseau et aide-major de la division de M. le Cte. de Breugnon courut pour apaiser le tumulte : son employ l'y obligeait. Ce qu'il sçavait d'Anglais, et ce qu'il avait vu à Londres où la population ne frappe jamais lorsqu'on n'a point d'armes, et qu'on ne menace pas, ont été cause de sa perte. » He received a blow on the right eye which was to prove fatal seven days later⁽²²⁾. Pléville Le Peley, another officer of the fleet, who was by, received a slighter wound.

As soon as the riot was known, the reactions of the different parties were extremely interesting to watch. On the French side, the

(19) Archives Nationales, MSS. Marine B. 4.-148. *Journal du Comte d'Estaing*. « Samedi 29 août : à 7 heures du soir mouillé par les 9 brasses fond de gros graviers. » The ships were the following : *Languedoc*, 90 guns; *Tonnant*, 88; *César*, *Hector*, *Zélé*, *Marseillais*, *Protecteur*, *Guerrier*, 74; *Vaillant*, *Provence*, *Fantasque*, 64; *Sagittaire*, 50; *Aimable*, *Alcmène*, *Engageante*, 26 or 30.

(20) Commonwealth of Massachusetts. General Court. *Report of the Committee on Libraries relative to a Memorial of the Chevalier de St. Sauveur*, Boston, 1909, Senate, No 336.

(21) Archives Nationales. MSS. Marine B.4.-142. « On voulait piller le pain qu'on venait de faire, nos Boulangers sans garde et sans chefs le défendaient. »

(22) For details on the wound and agony of St. Sauveur, see Archives Nat. MSS. Marine B. 4.-143. (Notes de Bigrel de Grandclos.)

bitter feeling against the Americans was increased tenfold. They conceived a hearty distrust for their allies. « Monsieur de la Fayette », writes Bougainville (23), « a dépêché un courrier à M. le Cte. d'Estaing, on dit qu'il rapporte des nouvelles intéressantes, on dit aussi que c'est une conséquence d'un parlementaire que lui a envoyé le Lord Howe; on ajoute qu'il est question de casser le Général Sullivan pour les discours injurieux qu'il a tenus contre la Nation Française, que M. Wasington a été furieux et a écrit au Congrès pour qu'on fit à la France la plus solennelle réparation. Cependant les prédicateurs dans les chaires exaltent les bons offices des Français, à l'égard des Américains et font à ces derniers une obligation de nous aimer. Vox clamantis in deserto. Ce qu'ils aiment, mais furieusement et sans qu'on le leur prêche, c'est l'argent des Français; ils nous vendent toutes les denrées à un prix exorbitant. » Again on the 13th : « Les Américains tant de haute que de moyenne vertu, n'aiment point du tout les Français; qu'on juge par là de l'amitié que leur portent les hommes. M. de St. Sauveur est fort mal; on en espère presque plus. »

The American authorities were extremely annoyed of the fact. They wished to do whatever was in their power to satisfy the French allies, while they were powerless against the anti-French feeling prevalent in the town. Fortunately, on the French side, d'Estaing's diplomacy was far above his seamanship and he kept up appearances to the end. The Americans promised \$.300 as a reward to help to discover the offenders. They apologised, inserted notes in the papers to eulogise the behaviour of the French sailors and soldiers, had sermons preached in the pulpit to appease the population and atone for Sullivan's declarations (24). D'Estaing affected

(23) *Diary*, F^o 121, Vendredi 11 Septembre.

(24) *Journal de Bougainville*, F^o 124, Samedi 19 Septembre.

« Le 9 7bre, le Docteur Chauncy, le plus ancien pasteur de Boston y a prêché dans la grande église un sermon duquel il résulte que tout le mal physique & moral, les revers, les défaites, les malheurs en tout genre viennent du péché à sa péroration, il conclut que les péchés des Américains sont cause du retard que les vents contraires ont apporté à l'arrivée de l'escadre Française envoyée à leur secours, que ce retard a donné le moyen aux Anglais d'entrer au Sandyhook sans échec, qu'ayant ensuite concerté avec toutes les mesures possibles à la prudence humaine l'attaque de Newport, un coup de vent presque sans exemple dans leur contrée en cette saison, avoit empêché et la prise de cette ville et la défaite de l'escadre Anglaise, et avoit forcé l'escadre Française à l'inaction pendant le temps nécessaire à réparer le dommage considérable souffert pendant la tempête. Les auditeurs ont demandé que ce sermon fut imprimé et il l'a été par Thomas et John Fleet. »

to believe that the culprits were British deserters from the *Marlborough*, a privateer then in Boston harbour. « Nous nous sommes Plûs mutuellement, » he wrote⁽²⁵⁾, « à accuser les Anglois d'être les auteurs secrets de ce malheur ».

Meanwhile, St. Sauveur died on the 15th of September. « Le malheureux St. Sauveur est mort », notes Bougainville who knew him well⁽²⁶⁾, « victime de la patrie, mais victime immolée de la façon en tout genre la plus cruelle. Je l'aimais tendrement et personne ne méritait plus d'être aimé. Il réunissait les qualités essentielles aux connaissances et aux graces de l'esprit. Le Sénat de Boston avait offert à M. le Cte. d'Estaing de faire faire à cet infortuné Français de magnifiques obsèques et de lui élever un mausolée dans le temple principal de Boston. C'eût été un monument éternel de la férocité de cette république naissante, un titre qui eut bien constaté son origine; on a pas cru qu'il fut décent qu'un Catholique eut un tombeau dans une Eglise protestante Je ne pense pas que l'ombre du défunt se fut plaint de cette irrégularité !... »

One motive for keeping the funerals as secret as possible was a desire on the part of d'Estaing to avoid any trouble in the town. St. Sauveur was buried on the 16th of September. « M. de St. Sauveur, » writes Bigrel de Grandclos⁽²⁷⁾ « fut enterré à 10 heures et demie du soir, exactemt. suivt. ses Dres volontés à l'Intention de M. Soubeaut.

» huit matelots du Tonnant portoient le Cercueil sur Leurs Epaulles; Je precedois avec le Sexton, le Fossoyeur; Les Recolets, MM. de Borda, de Puysegur... suivoient; le domestique du défunt et peut-etre deux ou trois Français en tout fermoient la marche; nous partîmes à 10 heures dans cet ordre et arrivés à l'église dite *Chapelle du Roy*, nous trouvâmes le dessous de l'église illuminé avec beaucoup de chandelles, sans magnificence.

» Le Caveau étoit ouvert et Le Revd. pere L'y deposa sans ceremonie; la porte du caveau fermée et cadnacée nous nous en revînmes signer un acte d'Inhumation que J'avois dressé d'avance.

» Enfin on ne pouvait pas Executer ce qui nous étoit recommandé, avec plus de precision et plus d'exactitude. »

That same day, the General Court appointed a Committee to provide a monumental stone to be placed in the burial ground where

(25) Arch. Nat. MSS. Marine B. 4. 142.

(26) *Journal*, F^o 122, Mercredi 16 Septembre.

(27) Arch. Nat. MSS. Marine B. 4. 143.

the remains should be deposited, with an inscription by Count d'Estaing. It would be too long to recall the interminable discussions that took place as to the kind of stone and the nature of the inscription. Suffice it to say that Washington, Heath and d'Estaing were most anxious to come to an agreement⁽²⁸⁾, that no good came out of the discussion and that no monument was ever erected to the memory of St. Sauveur⁽²⁹⁾.

It is very significant of the mutual desire for a good understanding that the cordiality of the receptions never seemed to be warmer than after the unfortunate affray. Three days after the burial of St. Sauveur, the French gave a great public dinner in Faneuil Hall to prove their good-will towards the population. On the 22nd. d'Estaing went to pay a visit to the chief authorities of the town. « On dit », writes Bougainville who owes America a grudge for the death of his dear friend and does not bear d'Estaing in his

(28) *D'Estaing to Mr. John Avery.* En Rade de Boston, le 19 7bre 1778.

Monsieur,

J'ay reçu la lettre que vous m'avez fait L'honneur de m'écrire et la copie de la délibération du Conseil d'Etat du 16 de ce mois qu'il a eu la Bonté de vous charger de me faire parvenir : les sentiments dont j'ai été pénétré en la lisant, sont ceux de tous les officiers de l'Escadre du Roy : ils peuvent être plus aisément sentis qu'exprimés. Vous assurer, Monsieur, qu'ils nous rendent, s'ils se peut, plus cher encore l'Interet general de la cause commune, est vous dire tout en peu de mots. La délibération elle meme, me parait être l'inscription la plus honorable pour la Mémoire de feu Monsieur le Chevalier de Saint Sauveur. Je me concerterai avec Messieurs du Comité que le Conseil d'Etat a daigné nommer, pour obtenir d'eux qu'il soit joint à la gravure de l'extrait de cette respectable délibération une protestation sincère du titre qui nous est le plus précieux, et qui l'a été jusqu'au dernier instant à l'officier que nous avons perdu; celui de notre entier dévouement pour la cause commune et pour la gloire de l'Amérique. J'ai l'honneur d'être avec la plus parfaite estime, Monsieur, votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur. Estaing. (Boston Athenaeum, MSS. L. I. V. I., p. 72.)

Washington to Wm. Heath, Headquarters, Fredericksburg, 22d. Sept. 1778.
Dear Sir... I am pleased to hear by a letter from General Greene, of the 16th that the affray mentioned in yours of the 16th has terminated in such a manner as to convince the French Gentlemen that no public harm or insult was intended by the people of the town of Boston. All possible means should now be taken to cultivate harmony between the people and seamen, who will not be so easily reconciled as their officers, not having so much sense to direct them... (*Collections of the Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. IV, 5th Series, pp. 94-95.)

(29) In 1903, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts resolved to appoint a Committee to carry out the promise respecting the monument. No result has appeared as yet. D'Estaing speaks somewhere of « la lenteur incalculable de tout ce qui se fait en Amérique ».

heart, « que l'objet de la visite est de les remercier de l'intention où ils étaient de rendre de pompeux honneurs funèbres au cadavre du pauvre St. Sauveur; les Américains pourront répondre à nos remerciements qu'il n'y a pas de quoi » (30). On the 25th, the Municipality of Boston entertained the French Admiral and his officers (31).

There were more riots, however, on the 26th and 27th, and a severe battle on the 5th of October when some American seamen were killed. D'Estaing was compelled to call back the bakers to avoid further trouble (32).

Yet, it is an ill wind that blows nobody good. St. Sauveur's death allowed the French to count their friends in Boston and measure the amount of sympathy that could be expected from the people in office. Though d'Estaing was obliged to keep a diplomatic smile and show everyone a cheerful countenance, he well knew, through his officers, which of the outstanding Bostonians were the staunchest supporters of France. « Le Dr. Cooper », wrote Bigrel de Grandclos, after the first meeting of the Committee appointed by the General Court (33), « est de tous nos amis, celui auquel Il m'a été le plus Facile de faire entendre raison sur L'Execution à La Lettre des dernières volontés de feu M. de St. Sauveur.

» Notre Genl. Hancock s'est montré plus coriace Et je crains pour L'Epitaphe et le Monument; Cependant L'un et L'autre sont promis et le Docteur a pris mes notes; mais le Conseil délibérera encore une fois.

» Si je voyais que le Docteur eut autant de crédit qu'il l'auroit semblé chez les Hancock et au Conseil, Je nous regarderais maitres de la délibération et je dis meme que nous pourrions faire à peu près ce qu'il nous sembleroit, mais je vois et je crois voir sûrement que les volontés de l'Eclésiastique sont bien subordonnées au Caprice et à l'Ostentation de notre Général, des Chefs du Conseil, des Turbulents et des Inquiets. Cet Etat de Dépendance a rendu mon

(30) *Journal*, F° 123, Mardi 22 Sept.

(31) « Il y a eu à Boston un grand repas donné par M. Hancock auquel ont été invités 3 officiers de la marine par vaisseau et 2 officiers de chaque régiment d'infanterie; on y a bu des santés au bruit de l'artillerie; car en vérité on fait grande consommation de poudre en saluts. Les santés bues ont été au nombre de 22 dont celle du duc de Choiseul. » *Journal de Bougainville*, F° 123, Vendredi 23 sept. For the details of the healths which were a surprise to the French officers, see SMITH, *op. cit.*, or *From Lafayette to Pershing*.

(32) *Journal de Bougainville*, F° 128, Mercredi 7 Oct.

(33) Arch. Nat. MSS. Marine. B. 4. 143.

prelat plus politique que ceux auxquels il obéit; Il est plus adroit, plus dissimulé, parce qu'il est moins fort et qu'il a besoin d'une partie de sa force pour se maintenir lui meme et ne pas perdre du Terrain.

» Je vous le Livre autant qu'il peut vous etre Livré, à quelque chose près, vous dicterez en Chaire et à la Presse; La Censure pourra dans la Circonstance peut-etre affaiblir l'énergie de l'onction et de l'amour propre du bien parler; mais je crois qu'on pourra encore aller loin avec l'adresse du pasteur.

» Je voudrais trouver le moyen de faire quelque cadeau honneste à sa femme et à sa fille; Il est pauvre et cependant je doute qu'il soit aisé de le faire. »

Before the Revolution, Cooper had long been a supporter of the Whigs in Massachusetts. He was from the first an enthusiastic partisan of the French alliance and sought to be of service whenever he could. As the Americans and the French had to converse in Latin, Dr. Cooper was « a useful and general interpreter » (34). Bougainville who spent the greater part of his time on board the *Guerrier* or watching the construction of a redoubt on the coast, calls Dr. Cooper « ce bon pasteur » and speaks of him with unusual sympathy (35). The clergyman clearly saw it was his fate to be the champion of the French Alliance and he willingly submitted to it, fully conscious he was gaining strength and influence in the town in proportion as he was known to speak in behalf of France. Bigrel de Grandelos aptly hits upon Cooper's prominent trait when he describes him as « plus politique que ceux auxquels il obéit.... plus adroit, plus dissimulé ». Cooper's character in Boston, indeed, was that of a nice, if somewhat machiavellian, politician (36).

Later on, Cooper, warmly recommended by the French officers, received \$.1000 a year from the King of France to continue his pro-French campaign. In 1781 as well as in 1778, the French found a

(34) *The Recollections of Samuel Breck.*, 46.

(35) *Journal*, F^o 128, Samedi 3 Oct. « Cependant ce pays est plein de Torys; au reste, à Boston meme, il y en a un grand nombre et il est des temples où l'on prie publiquement pour le Roi d'Angleterre; et pourquoi les Torys se generaient-ils à cet égard? pendant que les troupes anglaises occupaient Boston, le pasteur Cooper y appelait dans ses sermons le peuple à l'indépendance. Ce bon pasteur est un des principaux instruments de la Révolution et logo chez M. Hancock... »

(36) Cf. *The Diary of Ezra Stiles*. I., 491. Nov. 30, 1774—Ludicrous description of the Bn. Minrs. as to Liberty about 1772.

heartly welcome at his house. Chastellux praised him in his usual elegant and vague style (37), Brissot, in 1788, evoked the memory of « ce célèbre Docteur Cooper, auquel tout bon François et tout ami de la liberté doivent un hommage de reconnaissance, pour l'amour qu'il a porté aux François, et le zèle avec lequel il a défendu et prêché l'indépendance américaine » (38); although the somewhat pompous periods of those masters of rethorics fail to impress us when compared with de Broglie's more trustworthy statement. « Cooper », he writes (39), « famous for his bold sermons, his discourses purely political, although delivered in the pulpit and in the church, his supple, insinuating and crafty spirit, and also his extensive and varied knowledge, is one of the men whose character and deportment struck me most forcibly at Boston. His conversation is interesting, and although he expresses himself with difficulty in French, he understands it perfectly well, knows all our best authors, and has sometimes cited even in the pulpit, passages from Voltaire and J. J. Rousseau. Dr. Cooper is himself the author of several esteemed works. He writes sprightly verses, and carries certainly much cleverness under the immense wig of a clergyman, which he wears bigger and more heavily powdered than any of his brethren. He has his enemies among the clergy, as well as the laity, and he is generally accused of a ductility quite macchiavellian. »

« Après 3 ans d'un travail patient et fructueux », writes Fay (40),

.....In Brattle Street we seldom meet
With silver-tongued Sam
Who smoothly glides between both sides,
And so escapes a jam !

and *New England Historical Register*, XIII, The Boston Ministers; a Ballad (written in 1774).

There's Cooper, too, a doctor true,
Is sterling in his way;
To Jerry Seed, all are agreed,
He will be likened may.
In politics, he all the tricks,
Doth wonderously ken,
In's country's cause and for her laws
Above all mortal men.

(37) *Voyages*, II, 216. « Parmi les Américains qu'un intérêt politique attachait à la France, nul n'a éprouvé pour les François un attrait plus marqué et nul n'a reçu de la nature un caractère plus analogue au leur. »

(38) *Voyages*, I, 115.

(39) *Magazine of American History*, Vol. I, Journal of the Prince de Broglie, translated by E. W. Balch. The quotation is from page 378.

(40) *Op. cit.*, 87.

« il tomba malade. Il avait réussi à réunir chez lui Français et Américains, à les amener à se comprendre et à discuter sagement. Ses sermons avaient fait retentir les jolies églises coloniales aux formes grêles du nom du Roi de France; dans ces congrégations puritaines, on avait prié pour le Roi Très Chrétien. Il mourut et son œuvre lui survécut, comme les amitiés qu'il avait créées. »

This came to be true later; but at the time of d'Estaing's visit, much remained to be done. Even the higher classes, who ought to have known better, clung to old prejudices. Breck tells ⁽⁴¹⁾ how one Mr. Tracy offered a dinner to the French and how each guest found a frog in his soup, which made them roar with laughter. Good Mr. Tracy, then, grew indignant. « Why don't they eat them ? », he asked. « If they knew the confounded trouble I had to catch them in order to treat them to a dish of their own country, they would find that, with me, at least, it was no joking matter. » A short time before the French fleet left Boston, Hancock was the guest of d'Estaing on board the *Languedoc*. Bougainville passed a review of the troops in the presence of the Americans. « Ce qui les a frappé », he notes ⁽⁴²⁾, « c'est que nos soldats ne sont pas des nains, les Anglois le leur avoient presque persuadé. »

On the other side, the French were tempted to consider the whole of New-England as wanting in sympathy. « The French are liked more than they are esteemed », reports a contemporary witness ⁽⁴³⁾. « They judge us to be like pedlars, very honest thieves. They are English as regards Frenchmen, but Americans towards the English. » Most of the Frenchmen who came to New-England in the early days of the alliance, wrote very harsh criticisms of America. It would be very difficult, indeed, to find the slightest modicum of eulogy in many of the Memoirs which have been transmitted to us. Later philosophers, of course, like Chastellux, the Abbé Robin, and Brissot, will try to discover in Boston the virtues of a modern Salente, and look at it through rosy spectacles, merely finishing up with touches of local colour or unsafe statistics the nice picture they had brought from Paris.

The two outstanding features the French thought they could discern in the New-England people are indolence and love of money.

(41) *Recollections*, 23.

(42) *Journal*, F^o 130, Lundi 30 Octobre.

(43) De Feury, in Steven's *Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives relating to America*. Boston, 1889-1898. Quoted by Prof. H. M. Jones, *op. cit.*, 123.

From Preudhomme de Borre to Larochehoucauld-Liancourt, from 1777 to 1797, all the authors of memoirs or works relating to America insisted on the former trait as contrasted with French vivacity. It will be remembered that the Americans of the revolutionary days had still much in common with the Englishmen of the XVIIIth Century and that colonial life was more leisurely than we are inclined to think. The following extract from the *Journal d'un Officier de la Marine de l'Escadre de M. le Comte d'Estaing*, while not written against America, is characteristic of the state of mind of many officers of the fleet. Some allowance must be made, of course, for the ill-humour resulting from Sullivan's unfair attitude and the riots which caused the death of Saint-Sauveur (44). « Nous avons à nous plaindre des Américains; ils se sont refusés à nos besoins, n'ont pas fait pour nous tout ce qu'ils auraient pu faire : leurs services furent toujours payés au poids de l'or; ce n'étoit que par l'appât du gain que l'on pouvoit les arracher à leur indolence naturelle. Ils sembloient d'accord avec les Anglois pour les prévenir de tous nos desseins. Nous n'avons reçu aucun avis intéressant de leur part, ou bien ceux qu'ils nous ont donné étoient faux... C'est que la plupart des gens aisés sont Torris, & ne soutiennent le parti américain que par la crainte de perdre leur bien; leurs cœurs sont aux Anglois... Les Américains sont faciles à tromper, indolents par caractère, soupçonneux; ils croient toujours voir ce qu'ils craignent, et ne se donnent pas la peine d'examiner les raisons qui les portent à les croire, encore moins d'en chercher les preuves... Ils ne travaillent qu'à force d'argent, parce qu'ils sont tous dans l'aisance. Je n'ai pas vu un seul pauvre dans toute la partie de l'Amérique que l'Escadre a parcourue, ils sont intelligents, font bien tout ce qu'ils entreprennent, mais peu actifs et d'une nonchalance inconciliable avec la vivacité française. »

If this be thought too pessimistic, let one read the careful analysis of American opinion by a French traveller writing in Philadelphia, consequently in the most favourable atmosphere. He writes in 1777, and what he says holds good of New-England *a fortiori* (45).

(44) *Op. cit.*, 39 ff.

(45) Bibl. Nat. Fonds Français, 14693. *Voïage au Continent Américain par un Français en 1777. Et Réflexions Philosophiques sur ces Nouveaux Républicains :*

Sic quisque, pavendo,
Dat vires famae; nulloque auctore malorum,
Quae sinxere timent.

Lucain, Lib., I. Phars.

« Nous voulons, dis-je, et nous osons espérer qu'ils nous aimeront sincèrement ? Jamais, jamais : leur amitié ne suivra que les circonstances, tantôt haut, tantôt bas; ils ressembleront dans cette amitié pour nous, à l'amour du Joueur pour Angélique; ils nous pèseront à la balance de leurs intérêts, et commenceront toujours par mettre le plus léger bassin de notre côté. Aussi ceux, que je crois avoir ouï parler de cela sensément répondent prudemment : ils nous aimeront à peu près tout le tems que nous leur serons bons à quelque chose; mais le Canada, l'Acadie, nous brouilleront bientôt, si nous les possédons, comme on le veut, sitôt que la paix entre eux et l'Angleterre sera signée.

» De plus, leurs bibliothèques étant remplies de livres de Politique, et ces livres contenant à chaque page, à chaque phrase, les plus chagrines diatribes contre la France, leurs chansons, même, ne contenant que des Ironies et des Satyres amères contre les François, il faut s'attendre que loin de bannir de leur souvenir ces Libelles que dicta contre nous la Rivalité Angloise, ils se les rappelleront comme le tableau fidele de l'appréciation qu'ils avoient faite de nous avant les troubles; et comme les mœurs sont (hommes et femmes) très dissemblables, comme leur país, maintenant peuplé de français, y voit le *pauca bona pejora multa*; qu'il compte parmi ces français un nombre assez considérable de vagabonds, fripons, Joueurs, Banqueroutiers, ils se garderont bien de penser, d'après cette émigration nouvelle pour eux, que la plus saine partie de la Nation est celle qui ne fait pas parler de soi, ou est restée en France; et conséquemment (les nouvelles raisons, jointes aux anciennes, leur paraissant très convaincantes) loin de s'intéresser aux intérêts des françois en particulier et en général, je suis presque assuré (*Di avertant omen !*) qu'on les verra nous priser moitié sur ce qu'ils voient et moitié sur l'animosité et la Défiance qui, depuis des siècles, règnent entr'eux et nous. »

Yet, on the whole, the French officers in Boston behaved so as to give the New Englanders a high opinion of the French nation (46).

(46) See *Report of the Committee on Libraries &c...* Extract from GORDON'S *History of the War of Independence* (From a letter dated Roxbury, Nov. 12, 1778). « ...The behaviour of the French officers and sailors, the whole time that their fleet lay in the port, was remarkably good, far beyond anything of the kind ever before, when several men of war were present. The Count made a point of always lying on board at night; the officers conducted with the greatest regularity and decorum; but noticed a certain coolness in the gentlemen and ladies towards them, which was imputed to the want of so

When the fleet sailed for the West Indies on the 4th of November, much of the ill-humour of the Bostonians had vanished. The truth began to be known as to the abandon of the siege of Newport and the presence of the French was, after all, a not too unpleasant experience, even for people who were particularly touchy on the subject of quartering foreign troops.

The one man in the town who might have some reason to complain was Hancock. The gouty Governor was a victim to etiquette. With de Sainneville and d'Estaing, an era of feasts, banquets, receptions and ceremonies had opened for him, and he bravely faced the duties of his charge, though he would occasionally grumble at the hard times. While the fleet lay in the harbour, he often had as many as 40 officers at his home and, after their departure, he was seldom without a guest. It was no easy matter to find in the little town all the elements of a good dinner, and the French sailors, soldiers and diplomats who were welcome at the Hancock House little thought of the difficulties their host had to go over to entertain them. The following letter is a humorous allusion to these by Hancock himself. It was addressed to Henry Quincy, then in Providence (47) :

Monday noon, Aug. 30, 1779.

Dear Sir—The Philistines are coming upon me on Wednesday next. To be serious, the Ambassadors, &c, &c, are to dine with me and I have nothing to give them, nor from the present prospect of our market, do I see that I shall be able to get anything in Town. I beg you to recommend to my man Harry where he may get chickens, geese, hams, Partridges, muttons, &c., that will save my reputation in a dinner,... and by all means some Butter; Be so good as to help me and you will much oblige me; is there any good Mellons or Peaches or any good fruit near you ?... Can I get a good Turkey; I walk'd in Town to-day; I dine

cordial an affection for France as what they had once entertained for Great Britain, and had not wholly laid aside; but it was greatly owing to the unsuccessful expedition against Rhode Island and to what had been related concerning them respecting that affair... » Cf. letter of Mrs. Abigail Adams : « The temperance of these gentlemen, the peaceable, quiet disposition both of officers and men, joined to many other virtues which they have exhibited during their continuance with us, are sufficient to make Europeans and Americans, too, blush at their own degeneracy of manners. Not one officer has been seen the least disguised with liquor since their arrival. Most that I have seen appear to be gentlemen of family and education. » (Quoted by CRAWFORD, *Old Boston Days and Ways*.)

(47) See CRAWFORD, *op. cit.*, 336.

on board the French Frigate tomorrow; so you see how I have Recovered. God bless you; if you see anything good at Providence do Buy it for me.

I am your Real friend,

John Hancock.

Between the visit of the fleet of d'Estaing in 1778 and the arrival of Vaudreuil's squadron in 1782, many French visitors went through Boston. It would be impossible and tedious to record in detail the six visits of Lafayette⁽⁴⁸⁾ and the different occasions on which Rochambeau had to repair to Boston, not to mention the reception of the Chevalier de la Luzerne and of the officers of the many French vessels that put into the harbour during the campaign. Suffice it to say that by 1782, the Bostonians were getting quite used to their French visitors and that the victories in the South culminating in the fall of Yorktown greatly contributed to make them welcome. On the 13th of June 1782, the birth of the Dauphin was celebrated with the ringing of bells and the discharge of cannon. A lunch was offered in the Senate House to the authorities and persons of distinction. Early in August, Brigadier-General Choisy, in anticipation of the arrival of the French fleet, proceeded to Boston to notify Hancock of its coming and make arrangements for supplies.

The Fleet under the Marquis de Vaudreuil sailed into Boston on the 11th of August, 1782⁽⁴⁹⁾. On that occasion, *Le Magnifique*, a vessel of 74, was run ashore by the American pilot and the Congress immediately voted to replace it by a similar vessel which was then building. It is said that the pilot, in despair, turned sexton of one of the Boston churches, and he would now and then be reminded of the accident of *Le Magnifique* by the following doggerel rhymes some malicious persons wrote on the wall of his church :

Don't you run this ship ashore
As you did the 74.

The streets of the town were again crowded with French sailors and the impression of the average Bostonian was one we know well. The

(48) See FORBES (Allan) and CADMAN (Paul F.), *France and New-England*, Boston, 1925.—The main events are : in 1779, the visit of La Luzerne; in 1780, the return of Lafayette from France (April 28), Rochambeau's visit (Dec. 13-15); in 1781, the arrival of *La Concorde* with Barras and the Vicomte de Rochambeau, the fight between the *Chatham* and the *Magicienne*, the return of Lafayette after Yorktown, when he embarked for France (December).

(49) 13 ships of the line, 3 frigates and a cutter.

inhabitants did not feel at home among so many French seamen. « Here are Frenchmen plenty », John Eliot wrote to Jeremy Belknap⁽³⁰⁾; « A large fleet refitting hath given a spring to the town, which before was like a pool long stagnant. » And on the 30th of September : « It is necessary to talk French, or you would be a stranger in the streets of Boston. I wish we were rid of them. » As a contrast with this grumbling mood, which we are sure to find whenever we cast a look into unofficial quarters, the usual amenities were exchanged between the French and American authorities. They rang truer, this time, after the final victories⁽³¹⁾.

The fleet was to embark in Boston the troops of Rochambeau and take them to the West Indies. The army was not in Boston, it was still camping in the South. It marched from Verplanks-Point to Hartford and Providence, then from Providence to the harbour of embarkation. « The severity of the cold », writes Count Ségur, « rendered our march painful. I was, moreover, obliged to keep, night and day, a strict watch. The prospect of happiness which liberty presented to the soldiers in this country, had created in many of them a desire of quitting their colours, and of remaining in America. In several corps, therefore, desertion was considerable; thanks, however, to our wakefulness and good fortune, the Regiment of Soissonnais lost but few men »⁽³²⁾. Though it was midwinter,

(30) Boston, August 14, 1782. *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 6th Series, Vol. IV, Boston, 1891. Belknap Papers, p. 233 and 237.

(31) Cf. the letter of Hon. M. Weare to Vaudreuil. (Mass. Hist. Soc. MSS. 81. B. 93.)

« Hampton Falls, Sept. 30, 1782.

» ...Be assur'd Sir that we have the most gratefull sentiments of the Honor and great Advantage deriv'd from the alliance between His Most Christian Majesty & these United States and will most chearfully Render every Assistance in our power for the Defence of His Majesty's Ships and the common cause.

» Please to accept my Return of thanks for the Approbation you are pleas'd to give of the treatment the officers of his Most Christian Majesty have Receiv'd since they have been in this State and to assure you it is our desire to shew every Respect to the officers of our great ally and to cultivate the strictest harmony and friendship.

» I should not do justice to the officers and those under their command if I did not take notice of the remarkable good order & peaceable behaviour which have been observ'd by all since they have been in this State which has given great satisfaction... »

(32) Translated by Edw. M. Stone in *Our French Allies*. Providence, 1884. See *Mémoires du Comte de Ségur*, Paris, 1825.

the troops before entering the town changed their dress in the open air, and never had Boston seen such a brilliant display of military splendour as that offered on the fine morning of December 7, when the troops entered the town from Roxbury. « The day was favourable and the sunbeams danced and glittered on the bayonets of those veterans of two continents as they proudly marched over the neck and through the modest streets of old Boston. At their head rode Vioménil⁽⁵³⁾, who achieved such renown at Yorktown and afterwards lost his life heroically defending his king at the attack of the Tuileries. At his side rode the Chevalier Charles de Lameth, severely wounded at Yorktown, and afterwards a soldier of Napoléon; the Marquis de Champcenetz; Count Mathieu Dumas, Berthier, afterwards the adjutant-general and confidant of Napoleon... After these marched the regiment Royal Deux-Ponts, the largest in the army, in four battalions, with its Colonel, Count Christian de Deux-Ponts, from whom the regiment took its name, at its head... The dress of this regiment was white. The men wore cocked hats with pompons instead of cockades... The Bourbonnais in black and red, the infantry of Lauzun, all with arms and accoutrements in complete order, crowned with the laurels of victory and bearing the white standard and golden lilies in their serried ranks, closed the brilliant procession. »⁽⁵⁴⁾ The French army was a great success in Boston. « The ladies », writes Ségur, « stood at their windows and welcomed us with the liveliest applause. Our stay was marked by continuous rejoicings, by feasts and balls which succeeded each other, day by day. They displayed, with equal sincerity, the contending sentiments of joy at the triumph of the allied armies, and of sorrow at our approaching departure. »

The journals of the officers are full, indeed, of the descriptions of feast given in their honour. Hancock, as usual, had to welcome everybody. At one of the banquets, tells Desaudrouins⁽⁵⁵⁾, « M. Hancock étoit à la tête de la table, M. de Vaudreuil à sa droite et M. de Vioménil à sa gauche. C'étoit une grande question parmi Messieurs du Conseil de sçavoir lequel des deux commandans on placeroit à sa droite. Il fut décidé qu'on les laisseroit se faire des complimens entre eux; et la persévérance du baron a obligé le marquis à se mettre à la place d'honneur. Les autres officiers se sont placés

(53) Rochambeau had taken leave of the troops on the 29th of November.

(54) Samuel DRAKE, *Antiquities of Boston*, 180.

(55) Abbé GABRIEL, *Le Maréchal de Camp Desaudrouins*, Verdun, 1887, p. 365.

sans ordre. C'étoit un fort beau diner à l'Américaine, où l'on n'a pas bu plus de tosts qu'il ne convient à des François, c'est à dire, 5 ou 6. On a servi du café à la fin du repas, pour se conformer à notre usage, et on y a bu du très bon vin de Bordeaux. Cependant beaucoup de gens se sont plaints de la dureté ou du mauvais état des viandes. Pour moi, j'ai trouvé tout fort bon. »

The French officers were keen observers of the manners and customs of the people. A document recently found in the Archives Nationales⁽³⁶⁾ gives a vivid picture of the rough American life of the times. Once more, the French were struck by the indolence of their allies. « Les Américains passent la plus grande partie de leur vie à table », is a sentence which the writers of *Memoirs* seem to have copied from one another⁽³⁷⁾. Most of them expatiate on the details of the meals or the quality of the food, and the slightest possible points are noted and criticised : how they drink large quantities of tea, and eat so very little bread, how they like to spend hours drinking Madeira and sitting at table with their elbows on the board and passing the cup from hand to hand⁽³⁸⁾, how the table-cloth does the office of a napkin and what a nuisance it is to drink so many healths at one dinner every time a guest will rise from a corner of the table and ask : Sir, will you drink a glass of wine with me ?

When they are not at table, the Americans « have little to occupy them, as they go out little in winter and spend whole days alongside of their fires and their wives, without reading anything »⁽³⁹⁾. In fact, a town like Boston appears to Cromot-Dubourg « but thinly settled, and the inhabitants, in a state of great inaction : no workmen in the port, either from negligence or want of means, but this inaction leads me to fear its usual consequence ... a complete decay »⁽⁴⁰⁾. The visitors, of course, would comment diversely on

(36) See *Revue de Littérature Comparée*, 8^e Année, N^o 1, Janvier-Mars 1928, p. 136 (F. BALDENSPERGER).

(37) See the document above quoted, and : THOMAS BALCH, *The French in America* (Journal de Cromot-Dubourg), 141. The *Journal of Claude Blanchard* (transl. by Balch), 78, &c...

(38) The Prince de Broglie, however, was particularly happy in lodging at a house where « everybody drank out of his own glass & the plates were changed as often as could be desired ». « It is in fact downright magnificence », he adds. *Magazine of American History*, Vol. I, p. 378 (transl. by E. W. Balch).

(39) *Journal of Claude Blanchard*, 78.

(40) *Magazine of American History*, Vol. IV. The Diary of Cromot-Dubourg, p. 209. Cf. MS. aux Arch. Nat. F. 60. 6. « ...Le Caractère particulier de

their several impressions according to their various dispositions. Barbé-Marbois who came to Boston on a mission in 1779, had noticed the simplicity of American manners; « I should have spoken of the customs of the Bostonians the first days following my arrival in Boston », he writes, « as I was then more struck than I am to-day by the difference between their practices and ours. I still find it extraordinary that a woman leaves her hair its natural colour and is content to arrange it with elegant simplicity, not disguising it at all with coloured powders. An American lady to whom I remarked my surprise, asked me if French ladies also powdered their eyebrows ! Rouge is proscribed still more severely than powder, but I had not the least trouble to accustom myself to an usage so natural. I have not yet seen a beautiful woman, although I have seen several comely ones. There are no Parisian waists, so slim and so fine that they sometimes lose proportions with the rest of their bodies; but, if you will, their bodies are well developed and formed by nature, not by tailors... The Governor of the State is the chief of the Council in which rests the sovereign power, and he is the most eminent man in Massachusetts. We paid him a visit. Following our knock at his door, he came himself to open it and received us in a clean apartment, but of Lacedaemonian simplicity. The visit ended, his candle in hand, he reaccompanied us to the door, and as it was late I judge he put the key in his pocket and went to bed... We often met senators, representatives, and respected magistrates returning from the market carrying herbs or a fish. They called my attention to the same thing in Venice, but there was this remarkable difference, that the Venetian senator hides with care under his robes the merchandise which he has bought and none would be able to guess it if some longer roots or more active fish did not betray him. But the Bostonian goes along with head high and blushes no more to carry his provisions than a European does to carry a book or a print he has just bought; their habits are too simple to make a mystery of such a natural thing.

L'Américain ressemble infiniment à l'indolence depuis Le plus riche jusqu'à L'ouvrier vous passerez une journée entière chez un particulier qui ne vous parlera pas si vous ne lui adressez pas la parole. La moindre pluie l'empêche de sortir de chez lui, il aura une nouvelle intéressante à porter et ne doublera pas ses journées pour cela. L'ouvrier ne sait pas se déranger de chez lui pour avoir plus d'ouvrage. Souvent même il refuse celui que vous lui proposez s'il ne doit pas gagner une somme considérable proportionément à ses Facultés. Jusqu'à la Démarche d'un Américain tout chez lui annonce la Mollesse. »

» These Americans who open the door themselves, who go on foot to judge their citizens, who do their own marketing, are the ones who have brought about the present Revolution and who will, if it is necessary, shoulder a musket and march on the enemy. And, between us, I do not know if people who have *suisses*, stewards, officers and *berlines* with springs have likewise resisted despotism. » (61).

The officers of 1782 saw more of Boston society than any of the French visitors had done previously, for the obvious reason that they entered the town in the hour of victory, when everyone was rejoicing over the peace. « Let us speak a little of the ladies », writes de Broglie (62), « for that is always an important matter for a Frenchman, and with my pretension to be a rose-coloured philosopher, it would be impardonable to me to neglect such a charming subject ». Then, comes the praise of Mrs. Ferris, « the prettiest of them », and Mrs. Smith, and Mrs. Tudor. Yet, he finds the ladies, on the whole, « expensively dressed, but without taste. They know not how to dress their hair. They dance badly, although they love the exercise dearly ». Such is the opinion of Cromot-Dubourg : « I found the women very pretty », he says, « but at the same time very awkward; it is impossible to dance with less grace, or to dress worse, though with a certain kind of luxury » (63). The American ladies, however, may mark a point on the chapter of honesty. « Il n'y a point d'exemple », writes an officer, « ou au moins fort peu en Amérique, qu'une femme se soit écartée de ses devoirs. Si une femme qui n'est pas mariée tourne mal, il lui arrive souvent de donner dans de grands excès; mais en général elles sont parfaitement sages, et à l'exception de quelques-unes qui s'égarent, on peut les donner toutes pour modèles, et dire avec vérité que le vice n'est pas parvenu jusqu'ici... » (64).

Many who did not write relations of their American experiences jotted down notes by the way. Most piquant observations were made by a worthy French Abbé who taught John Eliot French around February 1782. He was the chaplain of a ship then in Boston harbour.

« There is a monk of *y^e Order of St. Francis* in town », writes

(61) *Atlantic Monthly*, Aug. 1928, p. 145. Our Revolutionary Forefathers. The Journal of François, Marquis de Barbé-Marbois. (Transl. by Percy-Noël.)

(62) *Loc. cit.*

(63) *Loc. cit.*, 149.

(64) *Revue de Litt. Comparée*, Jan.-Mars 1928, *loc. cit.*

Eliot (65) «—a young fellow of sense, taste and liberality of sentiment in religious opinions as well as other matters, who speaks in raptures of Bostonian Misses. He shew me a letter y. other day wch. he had written to his sister in France where he makes a comparison between y^e manners of y^e ladies in Boston & his own Country, & from this she must be led to think y^t. our female acquaintance equal all wch. we wish them to excell in.—« They are sensible virtuous, discreet, constant and love to *travel* (There you must observe y^e *Frenchism*, y^e French word *travailler* answers to our word, *to work*, & he meant to say y^t. they were *very notable*) they are faithful in y^r. friendships, & matrimonial connections &c., &c., &c. Whereon the French Ladies are remarkable for y^r. indecency & insincerity, their idleness, imprudence, *coquetry* & every other folly and vice. » I think as he doth about y^e *madames* & *mademoiselles*, & I did not undeceive him with regard to them of whom he had such an exalted opinion. » It is a real pleasure to meet such abbés as that good fellow. « The French abbé comes to meeting often, and I have been to hear Mass on board his ship. We discoursed together about our persuasions when he delivers such sentiments as these : I love a good Protestant as well as a good Papist. The disciple of Ct. cannot be of a persecuting spirit & every good member of the Church of Rome must condemn y^e Inquisition. You may love Christ, though you differ from me in many things & if you love Christ, you are a good man. In public, he appear with great dignity & devotion, is a very fine looking man. In private He is y^e merry, sociable, facetious companion, dresses like one of us & is fond of associating with the clergy of the town.

» I suspect whether he ever means to return to his convent. »

Very few of the officers rose to a general view of the American character. They noted the minor traits accurately enough but when they came to a conclusion, they kept unanimously on the reserve. « Malgré les soins que je me suis donné Depuis mon séjour en Amérique pour parvenir à Définir le Caractère de ses habitants », writes a traveller (66), « Les Conversations que j'ai eu avec plusieurs d'entre eux et avec des personnes qui ont des Connoissances et sont fixées dans le nouveau monde Depuis plusieurs années je n'ai pas encore pu y parvenir. Parmi les officiers français qui sont à l'armée il y en a plusieurs qui sont assez instruits et qui ont assez D'esprit

(65) Mass. Hist. Soc. Library. MSS. 161. D. 46. John Eliot to J. Belknap. Feb. 1, 1782.

(66) Archives Nationales. MSS. F. 60. 6.

pour juger de cette Nation et dans tout ce que j'ai entendu Dire à ces Différentes personnes, il Regnoit La plus grande prévention même dans Les avis opposés. Les uns en font un peuple presque surnaturelle trouvant que La Guerre qu'ils soutiennent depuis 1774 contre L'Angleterre est une chose surprenante D'autres les jugeant Différemment en font un peuple mou et presque imbécille..... » Count Mathieu Dumas is an exception, for he tried to see deeper than the majority of the officers and discern the possibilities and promises of the people he was observing. His words may be quoted here as those of a man of sense. « Le caractère national se forme malgré la similitude de langage, de coutumes, de mœurs, de religion, de principes de gouvernement, que les Américains ont avec les Anglais; il est même déjà facile d'assigner entre ces deux nations des différences essentielles. Chez les premiers, on trouve plus de douceur et de tolérance, plus d'hospitalité; et ils sont en général plus communicatifs que les Anglais. Ceux-ci leur reprochent trop de légèreté, un goût trop vif pour les plaisirs, ils les trouvent dégénérés et les taxent de faiblesse; mais bientôt, la différence des intérêts, l'attachement au gouvernement, la discipline et le bon esprit de l'armée, marqueront le caractère national. » (67).

(67) *Souvenirs du Lieutenant-général Comte Mathieu Dumas*, publiés par son fils, Paris, 1839, p. 113.

III

THE TRAVELLERS

It is a disappointment to pass from the diaries of sailors and soldiers to the more elaborate *Voyages* of the greater French travellers. Yet, the men who went to America as observers of the new nation ought to have been gifted with a nice talent for observation and their remarks should be both more accurate and more picturesque than those of occasional lookers-on, who merely jotted down a few desultory notes. In fact, this is not the case, and the reason is that the so-called travellers, though inferior to none, perhaps, in observing power, came to America with the set purpose of writing *books* about it, and consequently looked upon the country mainly as a background to their wit or a nation providentially created to exemplify their pet theories.

The Abbé Robin is not a great offender. His translator, Philip Freneau, the poet, praises him for trying to offer a true picture of the American nation as he found it, instead of filling his book, like too many of his brethren, with tales about the Indians and making, as usual, the reader « better acquainted with the *Ottagannies*, *Cherokees*, *Miamées*, *Nadon-Wessians*, & a hundred others, with their various customs of *paw-wawing*, or methods of making *wampum*, than with the most interesting particulars relatives to the *inhabitants* of the *then colonies* » (1). The good Abbé is a curious combination of the romantic, the classic, and the scientific turns of mind. He had a long passage, and tempests tossed his ship most execrably. « But in the worst of our danger », he observes (2), « and when we were seemingly upon the point of being overturned by the fury of the winds and waves, I had the

(1) *New Travels through America*, Philadelphia, 1783.

(2) *Ibid.*, 9.

satisfaction to find that our ship constantly returned to her original position by that universal all-pervading principle, the central attraction of gravity ». No sooner had he caught sight of the harbour than he was full of admiration, and, indeed, the view from the roads was splendid, discovering as he did, through the woods, toward the west, a magnificent prospect of houses, built on a curved line, and extending in a semicircle above half-a-league. But then, when he entered the town itself, how superior Boston appeared to our old European cities. « The form and construction of the houses would surprise a European eye; they are built of brick and wood, not in the clumsy and melancholy taste of our ancient European towns, but regularly and well provided with windows and doors... All the parts of these buildings are so well joined, and their weight is so equally divided, and proportionate to their bulk, that they may be removed from place to place with little difficulty. I have seen one of two stories high removed above a quarter of a mile, if not more, from the original situation, and the whole French army have seen the same thing at Newport. What they tell us of the travelling habitations of the Scythians is far less wonderful... » The religious aspects of life in Boston are carefully noted by Robin who contrasts the seriousness of the Bostonians at church with the attitude of a French Congregation. The New England Sunday makes a great impression on his mind. « All business, how important soever, is then totally at a stand, and the most innocent recreations and pleasures prohibited. Boston, that populous town, where at other times there is such a hurry of business⁽³⁾, is on this day a mere desert : you may walk the streets without meeting a single person, and if by chance you meet one, you scarcely dare to stop and talk with him. »⁽⁴⁾. This is edifying enough, but our abbé is something of a humourist, and knows the human heart pretty well. « Piety », he notes⁽⁵⁾, « is not the only motive that brings the American Ladies in crowds to the various places of worship. Deprived of all shows and public diversions whatever, the church is the grand theater were they attend, to display their extravagance and finery. There they come dressed off in the finest silks, and overshadowed with a profusion of the most superb

(3) Compare Cromot-Dubourg's statement (*supra*) about the inaction of the Boston people. Is this « hurry of business » a reaction of Robin's peaceful disposition, or a literary artifice to contrast it with the calm of a Boston Sunday ?

(4) *Ibid.*, 13.

(5) *Ibid.*, 14.

plumes. » The days of Lemer cier are far back, indeed; forty years have elapsed, and fashions have not improved, on the contrary. « The hair of the head is raised and supported upon cushions to an extravagant height, somewhat resembling the manner in which the French Ladies wore their hair some years ago. Instead of powdering, they often wash the head, which answers the purpose well enough, as their hair is commonly of an agreeable light color; but the more fashionable among them begin now to adopt the present European method of setting off the head to the best advantage. They are of a large size, well proportioned, their features generally regular, and their complexion fair, without ruddiness. They have less cheerfulness and ease of behaviour, than the Ladies of France, but more of greatness and dignity. » The Quakers are severely judged by the Abbé. Their chief virtue, he observes, must be patience, for their inspired orators often put them to the test and women, always docile to that Holy Ghost, use speech generously.

Yet, for all his admiration, Robin could not ignore the prejudices of the Bostonians against the French, before the final victories. The people whom he frequented were very kind to him, but, on one occasion, he understood that the generality of the population was not composed of well-wishers. The house where he was lodged took fire. The crowd assembled round the building, ready to help; but as soon as they heard that the owner was a Frenchman, they declined to do anything to stop the fire.

Chastellux came to Boston on two occasions, at least : once, in the Spring of 1781 ⁽⁶⁾ and once in November 1782. His notes are unfortunately for the greater part either superficial or simply inaccurate. « He has had the account of his journey printed in two volumes, and some agreeable details are to be found in it », says Cromot-Dubourg ⁽⁷⁾, « but many trifling matters, mediocre pleasantries and eulogiums, often but little deserved, of persons who had flattered him. Brissot de Warville has sharply criticised his work ». Let one compare his elegant, elaborate narrative with the homelier words of his fellow-soldiers in America. He sees Boston, yet cannot paint it. He is never picturesque. He might be a guide to literary Boston, yet his observations are so superficial as to be practically worthless. He looks at the town from the man of the

(6) *Voyages dans l'Amérique Septentrionale* dans les années 1780, 1781 et 1782. 2 Vol., Paris, 1786, Vol. II, p. 197, 212.

(7) *Journal*, 86, note.

world's point of view. His impressions are strangely lifeless and even colourless. The *salons* of Paris expected an academician to write in a witty manner, and Chastellux rightly deserved their praise. His *Voyages*, indeed, remind one of Lesage's novels. However varied the background, however picturesque the land through which he passes, the most interesting figure in the book is Monsieur le Marquis de Chastellux. Remember the enthusiasm of the Abbé Robin on seeing Boston harbour, and read Chastellux : « Le débarquement est au nord du port, et à l'est du Ferry de *Charles-Town*. Quoique je susse que M. du Mas m'avoit préparé un logement, je trouvai plus commode de descendre d'abord à l'auberge de Cromwell, chez M. Bracketts, où je me fis donner à dîner. Après le dîner, je me rendis au logement qu'on m'avoit préparé dans *Main Street*, chez M. Colson, marchand à l'enseigne du *Gant*. Comme je me disposois à m'habiller pour aller chez M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil, je le vis entrer chez moi; il voulut bien me permettre de quitter mes habits de voyage, ensuite nous allâmes ensemble chez le Docteur Cooper, et de là, au bal d'association où je fus reçu par mon ancienne connoissance M. Brick qui étoit l'un des *managers*. J'y restai jusqu'à 10 heures; M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil ouvrit le bal avec Madame *Temple*; M. de l'Aiguille aîné et M. Truguet dansèrent aussi chacun un menuet, et firent honneur à la nation françoise par la manière noble et aisée dont ils dansèrent; je suis fâché de dire qu'elle contrastoit un peu avec celle des Américains, qui est en général très gauche, particulièrement dans le menuet, &c., &c. » (8).

This tells us something, of course, of the life of the French officers in Boston, particularly of that of Chastellux, but would it be very different in New-York, or Philadelphia? Our traveller pays the ritual visit to Cambridge and wishes to write something piquant about it. « Le chemin que j'avois à faire, quoique très court, puisque il y a à peine deux lieues de Boston à Cambridge, exigeoit cependant que je voyageasse par mer et par terre, et que je traversasse un champ de bataille et un camp retranché. Il y a long-tems qu'on a dit que la route du Parnasse étoit difficile, mais les obstacles qu'on a coutume d'y rencontrer, sont rarement de la même espèce que ceux qui devoient m'arrêter. » (9). His conclusion on that subject is more remarkable for piquancy than for truthfulness : « Je répéterai

(8) *Voyages*, II, 193 ff.

(9) *Ibid.*, II, 204.

ici », he writes (10), « ce que j'ai dit ailleurs, c'est que, si on comparoit nos universités, & en général nos études, avec celles des Américains, il ne seroit pas de notre intérêt de faire décider laquelle des deux nations doit être considérée comme un peuple enfant. »

Nor is Brissot more trustworthy. The sharp critic of Chastellux is far more prejudiced than he. He looks at America with the eyes of a revolutionary Fénelon, and, sometimes, of a commercial traveller (11). He is not without pretensions. « La plupart des François », he writes in the Preface of his book (12), excepting himself, of course, « qui voyagent ou émigrent, n'ont aucunes connoissances, et ne sont point préparés à l'art de l'observation. Présomptueux à l'excès, et admirateurs de leurs coutumes et usages, ils sont portés à ridiculiser ceux des autres peuples : le ridicule leur offre un double plaisir; il satisfait leur orgueil, il humilie les autres. » Brissot is not guilty of that vulgar blemish. We find him rather inclined to the opposite error. « L'objet de ce voyage », he says, « n'a pas été d'étudier les antiques ou de rechercher des plantes inconnues, mais d'observer des hommes qui venoient de conquérir leur liberté. » America is obviously a model to copy, its inhabitants *must* be virtuous, on Brissot's theory, at all cost. The result is that the Americans painted by Brissot are like those good boys of the picture-books for children, too good to be true, monotonously and unrelentingly virtuous. How different from corrupted Europeans ! Brissot lands at Boston on the 24th of July, 1788. « Ce n'étoit point le tourbillon incommode et bruyant de Paris; ce n'étoit point l'air inquiet, affairé, avide de jouissances, qui caractérise nos compatriotes; ce n'étoit point l'air profondément orgueilleux des Anglois, c'étoit l'air simple, bon, mais plein de dignité d'hommes qui ont la conscience de leur liberté, mais qui ne voient, dans tous les hommes, que des frères, que leurs égaux... » (13). And Brissot saw all this at a glance; and no other traveller ever saw it before. That's observation for you. « Je croyois etre dans cette Salente, dont le pinceau sensible de Fénelon nous a laissé une image séduisante... Les Bostoniens unissent maintenant à la simplicité des mœurs, l'aménité françoise, et cette délicatesse dans les manières, qui ne rend la vertu que plus aimable... »

(10) *Ibid.*, 213.

(11) See *Appendix II*. Brissot to James Bowdoin.

(12) *Nouveau Voyage dans les Etats-Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale fait en 1788*, Paris, 1791.

(13) *Ibid.*, I. 411.

ble. » What a change these ten years have brought, Preudhomme de Borre ! Nor is this all. « Prévenans envers les étrangers, obligeans envers leurs amis, ils sont tendres époux, pères aimans et presque idolâtres, et doux envers leurs domestiques. » As for you, Abbé Robin, how could you suppose the ladies of this land of liberty ever thought of such trifles as you would have us believe. « Rien de plus charmant que le coup d'œil d'une église ou d'un *meeting*, le jour du dimanche. Le bon habit de drap y couvre les hommes; la toile des Indes ou d'Angleterre y pare les femmes et les enfans, sans être gâtée par ces colifichets ou ces ornemens que l'ennui, la fantaisie et le mauvais goût y ajoutent chez nos femmes. La poudre ni les pommades n'y souillent point la chevelure de l'enfance ou de l'adolescence; on les voit avec peine employées pour la coëffure des hommes qui invoquent l'art du perruquier, car cet art a déjà malheureusement franchi les mers ». The veterans of the American wars who happened to read the book must have had a hearty laugh over it.

On the chapter of economics, however, Brissot is more reliable and far more interesting than Chastellux. He makes a careful study of American industry and commerce, all in favour of the enterprising spirit of the new nation. He goes to Cambridge and the visit suggests no witty commentary, only that romantic touch of emotion so frequent with Brissot. « Le cœur d'un François palpite en retrouvant Racine, Montesquieu, l'Encyclopédie, dans un endroit où fumoit, il y a 150 ans, le calumet des sauvages. » (14). On the subject of education, his statement is more sober than the epigrams of Chastellux. « On a remarqué », he writes (15), « que dans les pays livrés principalement au commerce, les sciences ne s'élevoient jamais à un très haut degré. Cette remarque pourroit s'appliquer à Boston. L'Université de Cambridge renferme certainement des savans estimables; mais la science n'est point répandue parmi les habitans de Boston. Le commerce y entraîne toutes les idées, y tourne toutes les têtes, y absorbe toutes les spéculations : aussi trouve-t-on peu de grands ouvrages, peu d'auteurs. » Of course, the Bostonians are not to blame. « Ils songent à l'utile, avant de se procurer l'agréable; ils n'ont pas de brillans monumens, mais ils ont des églises jolies et commodes, de bonnes maisons; mais ils ont de superbes ponts, des voiliers excellents; mais leurs rues sont éclairées la nuit, lorsqu'il est beaucoup de villes anciennes de l'Europe,

(14) *Ibid.*, 130.

(15) *Ibid.*, 136.

où l'on n'a pas encore songé à prévenir les effets funestes de l'obscurité de la nuit. » (16).

Brissot has no patience with those who find fault with America. The poor Abbé Robin is sternly taken up for writing that people die young in America. It is highly improbable that it should be so in a free country. As to the fortune of America, Brissot settles it in no time. The land shall ever remain pure from the corruption of crowded European cities. Epaminondas, Cincinnatus, and Fabius will live again in the upright American citizen, judge and statesman. « Il n'y aura jamais, en Amérique, de grandes villes qui, comme Londres ou Paris, absorberont tout l'argent, tous les moyens : d'où résulte qu'ils seront répartis plus également partout; que la population sera plus grande et moins aisée à corrompre, l'industrie et le bonheur plus universels. »

That anybody should pretend to know the customs, psychology, resources and future of a country after spending four months in it, fills one with admiration at the achievement or with doubt as to the value of it.

How then are we to account for the rather poor quality of what those travellers wrote? Admiration marred their vision of things, we have seen. A sharp critic is, as a rule, a keener observer than a passionate admirer. Worse still, that admiration was clearly not suggested directly by what they saw : they brought it with them and, as a matter of fact, it was one of their motives for crossing the ocean. They were, one and all, victims of the « philosophic » spirit of the times and of the « American mirage » which deceived so many of their contemporaries.

Scientific investigation was out of question, of course, with that brilliant amateur de Chastellux, and the mild, gentle-minded Robin. As for the pseudo-scientific researches of Brissot, they too often prove to be one-sided vehement assertions propped up with statistics hastily drawn or procured. But they insisted on writing philosophical accounts of what they saw, and thereby introduced a certain amount of dogmatic, ready-made prejudice into their work. They all believed in the goodness of human nature when free from the conventions of society. And, just as they imagined the « savage » to be the most virtuous of men because the freest, so the American who had just shaken off the English yoke was bound to excite their admiration.

(16) *Ibid.*, 140.

The more so, perhaps, as America was both a precedent and an example. They confusedly felt that a new order was coming, as many did in those days, and the revolution in the new world was eagerly hailed by them as an anticipation of what was to be in the old. No wonder they mixed up many of their dreams with their picture of reality. Was it not the way, too, to hasten the advent of that new order, by offering alluring images of what America had realised?

Those cultivated men, with their minds full of the stories of the births of the ancient republics, may perhaps well be excused if they tried to make contemporary events fit classical frames. They never supposed they were modelling reality to their taste, but rather thought they were tracing, through the intricacies of modern politics, the old, time-honoured beaten track of tradition.

IV

THE LAST TWENTY YEARS

When Brissot left America in Décembre 1788, eager to return with his family and live ever happy afterwards in the Eden he had discovered⁽¹⁾, French influence in New-England was perhaps at its highest. Though the years that followed the Treaty of 1783 witnessed a growing friendship based on interest between America and England, yet, the consequences of the French alliance were developing. France was now looked upon as a nation in no way inferior to England. Vulgar prejudices were probably put aside, for a time, at least. The distinguished crowd of officers who were the guests of the Bostonian society may have had their influence on the manners or, rather, fashions, of the day. The Americans, too, were watching with interest the change that society in France was then undergoing, absolutism fast evolving into more liberal forms of government. The Protestants were no longer persecuted. Brissot's motto : *No happiness without liberty* seemed a common ideal for the two nations.

(1) Cf. Mass. Hist. Soc. MSS.—*Bowdoin and Temple Papers*, IV, 83. To James Bowdoin. New York 4 Xbre. 1788. «The esteem you honour me with Induces me to trust you with a secret that I have trusted with very few people. I am embarking to-day for Europe, and I hope I'll be back here in 6 or eight months with my family. Mr. Barrett who is conversant with my motives & who shall have the honour to deliver you this letter will explain to you the motives of this mysterious voiage. I hope my short residence in Europe will prove useful to this country; at least I intend to express the satisfaction I have felt almost in every point of view. I wish you be so good as to preserve the friendship of which you have given to me so flattering testimonies. I am with respect, Sir, your most humble & most obedient servant. Brissot de Warville.—My friend will keep secret for some weeks my return in Europe.» The seal bears the following motto : *No happiness without liberty*.

The *beaux esprits* who were not a few among the French officers had turned the attention of the higher classes in New-England towards French culture. When Chastellux talked to the ladies in Boston, the latter were no doubt flattered to converse with a man who was received at the French court. One of them, Mrs. Tudor, « was the author of some pleasant verses addressed to the Queen of France, of which M. de Chastellux was the bearer. They were well written and the idea was happy » (2). French authors were quite the fashion. The *Tales* of Marmontel, Sully's *Memoirs* and Fénelon's *Télémaque*, together with the *Histories* of Rollin were read with an eager desire to penetrate the spirit which pervaded them. Voltaire's book *On Tolerance* was a great success among the public. The former narrow-mindedness of New-England Puritans was fast disappearing. Not only were the works of Voltaire and Montesquieu popular, but Rousseau's *Emile*, though banished from the Universities, was yet a favourite with a large class of the population. A Boston lady, Mrs. Morton, published a short novel inspired by Sterne and Marmontel (3).

The study of French which had been so neglected at Harvard for a century, was now the object of great interest. Louis Delille, who came to Boston in 1772, taught his language at Harvard in an unofficial way. Francis Vandale who came two years later was appointed there in 1779 (4). Merlino de Saint-Pry, who was teaching in New-York in 1774 (5), had settled in Boston as early as 1778 where he was married and had a daughter born to him on the 19th of August 1779 (6). Simon Poullain taught French at Harvard in 1780 (7) when French became a regular part of the curriculum. Albert Gallatin, a Swiss, was appointed in 1782, when French was made the equivalent of Hebrew, a great honour, due, no doubt, to the prestige and victories of the French army. It seems that there was a time when Harvard College had two instructors in French. M. Régnier was both a fencing-master and a teacher (8).

(2) *Magazine of American History*, Vol. I, p. 379. Journal of the Prince de Broglie.

(3) See FAY, *op. cit.*, 26, 27, 227.

(4) *Ibid.*, 84.

(5) *Ibid.*, 26.

(6) Harvard College Library. Treasure Room. *St.-Pry Papers*. MSS. Letters, Journals, Memoranda, Bills of Merlino de St. Pry, a Boston merchant. See *in/fra* and *Appendix I*.

(7) FAY, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

(8) FAY, and *Boston Post Boy*, 20-6-1774.

Joseph-Paul Guérard de Nançrède settled in Boston about 1787⁽⁹⁾. He was granted liberty to open a school on the 24th of September of that year and became an instructor at Harvard on the 8th of October⁽¹⁰⁾. Monsieur Ravaut, an ex-shopkeeper, had obtained permission to teach in Boston (Aug. 8, 1787)⁽¹¹⁾. Meanwhile, Harvard College had conferred Doctor's degrees on the Chevalier de la Luzerne, on de Marbois and on the first French consul, de Valnais. When the Medical School was inaugurated, the French consul was present. Warren, the President, had been impressed by the methods of the French surgeons during the wars of the Revolution, when he was an army surgeon, and had adopted some of them. At Harvard, Brissot notes⁽¹²⁾ that Dr. Dexter, professor of physics, chemistry and medicine, told him, « et ce fait me causa une vive satisfaction, qu'il répétoit les expériences de notre école chymique. L'excellent ouvrage de mon respectable maître, le Docteur Fourcroy, étoit dans ses mains ». The same Brissot sent copies of his works to the Library of Harvard College.

It would be a mistake, however, to infer from that revival, or rather wave, of French influence too hasty conclusions as to the real conditions of the French colony in Boston. The brilliancy of the colony was all in the officers of the fleet and army. The years 1778-1782 saw the streets of Boston crowded with Frenchmen embarking or disembarking. There was a French naval base, a French hospital; French ships would fight English men-of-war off the coast of Massachusetts; French vessels frequently put into the harbour to refit; French ambassadors were received in great pomp; the victories were celebrated with the French allies. The temporary occupation of a town of about 10,000 inhabitants by a noisy crowd of sailors and soldiers should not, however, dispense us with examining the case of such French people as were more or less permanently settled in Boston.

The French « nation » was composed of the Consul, M. de Valnais from February 1779 to Dec. 6 of the same year, when M. de

(9) In a letter of Dannery, the French Consul in Boston, fructidor an 2 : « Cet homme réside ici depuis huit ans. » (Affaires Etrangères, Correspondance Consulaire de Boston.) Nançrède is mentioned. for the first time in the *Etat des Français résidant à Portsmouth, Boston et Providence dans l'année 1787*.

(10) See *Selectmen's Records*, and *Harvard Advocate*, dec. 3, 1913.—Le Premier Instructeur de français à Harvard College : Joseph Nançrède (F. BALDENSBERGER).

(11) *Selectmen's Records*.

(12) *Op. cit.*, I, 133.

L'Etombe took his place⁽¹³⁾ which he was not to leave until Dec. 49, 1792, when Dannery became consul. There were, moreover, two « deputies » chosen among the most distinguished members of the colony, one « interpreter », the faithful Jean Juteau whom Samuel Breck's father had patronised at his arrival at Boston, taking him in his counting-house together with Jacques Nébon⁽¹⁴⁾.

The most conspicuous of the earlier deputies was Benoit-Claude Merlino de Saint-Pry, a native of Lyons, who had come to America before 1774. He was perhaps one of those Frenchmen whose services had not been accepted by the Colonies, for a letter of his daughter speaks of him as « in the service of the late King of France, Louis 16th. »⁽¹⁵⁾. In 1774 he was a teacher and dancing master in New-York⁽¹⁶⁾. St. George de Viart, a fencing master in Massachusetts⁽¹⁷⁾, recommended him to some friend in Boston as having a « vehement desire to Learn the English Language »⁽¹⁸⁾ and St.-Pry, who had now turned merchant, came to Boston to trade with the Isles. After 1776, he is well known among the Boston merchants, and seems to have dropped his teaching and dancing business altogether. Yet, he would often turn his mind to lighter subjects than the price of rum or the prizes of his vessels, for his private papers are now and then covered with light songs and music. He married Elizabeth Gyles, a native of Boston, and had two children : a daughter, Elianor, born August 49, 1779, and a son, Charles-François, born June 28, 1783⁽¹⁹⁾. He knew Lafayette and Gallatin

(13) See Arch. Nat. MSS. Marine B. 4. 172. Letter of March 7; 1779 to Suffren. « ...J'ai l'honneur de vous informer que j'ai reçu il y a environ douze jours La Commission de Consul de France pour L'Etat de Massachusetts's Bay. » See also Aff. Etr. *Correspondance Consulaire de Boston*.

(14) *The Recollections of Samuel Breck*, 46.

(15) See Appendix I.

(16) FAY, *op. cit.*, 26, *New-York Gazetteer*, 23-3-1778.

(17) FAY, *loc. cit.*

(18) Harvard College Library. *St.-Pry Papers*. A Letter from St. George de Viart (No address, no date). Dear Sir,—I take the freedom to recommend M. de St. Pry to you : he has a vehement desire to Learn the English Language, & there is But few persons in this town which understand it grammatically; I sould think he would find in you a good preceptor for that purpose. Therefore, Dr. Sir, I should believe myself greatly happy if (in Regard of the Friendship I always professed for you) you would be as good as to help Mr. de St. Pry in the English tongue & be a friend to him. I hope this favour of you & Believe I will Remain for ever your sincere friend.

St. George de Viart.

(19) *St. Pry Papers*. City of Boston, July 10, 1843. « I the subscriber do hereby certify that it appears by the Registry of Births of the Town (now

at the time they stayed in the town. He was extremely busy sending his ships to the West Indies. One occasion shows him as he liked to appear in public life, a dignified man, to be sure, and conscious that he represented France in a not too friendly country, while a curious light is thrown thereby on the traits of the French Colony in Boston, their quarrelsomeness and irritability, the same from the early rivalries of the Protestants to the later intrigues around the foundation of the Catholic Church and the bickerings of *émigrés* and revolutionists.

A Monsieur,

Monsieur De Valnais Consul de France aux Etats Unis de L'Ame-
rique Pour le Gouvernement de Massachusets Bay
à Boston.

Supplie humblement, Bt. Merlino de St. Pry resident à Boston, Disant que Mercredi dernier 30^e du moi D'Août en se retirant de l'audience, où il avoit été pour des affaires, il auroit été assailli par le sieur Jolly, Negt. aud. Boston, qui *comme un Lion affamé qui se tient à l'entrée de sa tanière pour devorer le premier passant*, tel étoit, dis-je, le fameux Negotiant Jolly, caché dans un coin du palais, guettant sa proie au sortir, car à peine fus-je sur le seuil de la porte et à sa portée qu'il se précipita sur moi comme un Lion rugissant (avec ses cheveux épars, ses yeux étincelans et une figure si difforme et si pleine d'étranges contorsions que vous eussiez pû lire sur son visage toutes les différentes passions qui agitoient son ame) et me tint des propos si indécens que tout autre que moi lui auroit répondu sur le meme ton, mais non ! au contraire. Je lui répondis avec toute la politesse imaginable, il est vrai d'un ton ironique, qui l'irrita si fort qu'il en vint Jusqu'à me prendre par le collet et me menacer

City) of Boston, that Elianor D. St. Pry, daughter of Bennit Merlino de St. Pry & Elizabeth his wife, was born on the nineteenth day of August; A. D. one thousand seven hundred and seventy nine. The record is in the words & figures following, viz : « Elianor D. St. Pry, Daugr. of Bennit Merlino de St. Pry & Elizabeth his wife, 19th August 1779 ». Samuel T. M. Cleary, City Clerk.

Extrait des Registres de l'Eglise Catholique de Boston, Etat de Massachusetts, Amerique Septentrionale.—« Le premier Septembre de l'an de grâce mil sept cent quatre vingt treize a été baptisé par le Soussigné, Dr. en Théologie. Pasteur de l'Eglise Catholique et Romaine de la Ville de Boston Charles François né le 28 Juin mil sept cent quatre vingt trois, et âgé actuellement de dix ans, fils de feu Benoit-Claude Merlino de St. Pry, François de Naissance, et d'Elizabeth Giles, son épouse native de cette ville, dans la dite Eglise de Boston. Le Parrain a été Matthew Cottril commerçant, et Marie Lobb tous deux habitants de cette ville, lesquels ont signé avec nous. Signé, Elizabeth Merlino de St. Pry mère de l'enfant, Matthew Cottril, Marie Lobb, François Antoine Matignon, pasteur de la dite Eglise.

de me Jetter au bas de l'escalier, mais sachant Trop ce que Je devois à moi-meme et à l'auguste Corps en presence duquel se passa cette scene (*scène qui n'augmentera pas la mauvaise opinion que les Américains ont de la nation françoise*, il est donc de l'intérêt de la nation par votre moïen, de tâcher à se débarrasser de tous les esprits turbulens qui s'y trouvent) m'empêcha de lui preter collet afin de ne pas causer un plus grand scandale.....

Later on, St. Pry returned to France and died there. He had left his wife and children in America. When the French navy and army left Boston in 1782, the French Colony lost whatever splendour it may have had. During the wars, a few merchants from the Isles had established agencies in Boston and would become temporary residents. In 1786, we know for certain that the number of respectable Frenchmen having some business or property in Boston amounted to about twenty, and had a tendency to decrease (20).

(20) Aff. Etrangères. *Correspondance Consulaire de Boston.*

13 Février 1787—Etat des Français résidans dans mon Département en l'année 1786

<i>Noms et Surnoms.</i>	<i>Profession.</i>	<i>Lieu des Demeures.</i>
Baury de Bellerive.	Planteur de St. Dominique	Boston.
Cormerais de L'horme.	Premier Député, Négociant.	»
Caillau Durivage.	Second Député, Négociant.	»
Jean Juteau.	Interprète.	»
Jacques Nébon.	Négociant.	»
André Carente.	»	»
Morel.	»	»
Duballet.	»	»
Jean Dumora.	»	»
Jn. Bte. Massé.	»	»
Véron.	»	»
Pierre St. Médard.	Détailleur.	»
Caillau Durivage fils.	Facteur.	»
Masson.	Boulangier.	»
Garaux.	Boulangier.	»
Ravant.	Détailleur.	»
Brû.	Détailleur.	»
Frédéric de Bissy.	Chancelier du Consulat.	»

In 1787, they were about ten⁽²¹⁾. There were, of course, besides those whose names are on the list, adventurers who did not make themselves known or merely went through Boston. Naturalisation, too, had made American citizens of some of the French residents. Trade with France or the French colonies was not sufficiently important to justify any increase in the number of French merchants. The total tonnage of French vessels that entered or left Boston harbour in 1786 was about 3,000 tons. « Ce n'est pas là une navigation brillante », wrote the Consul⁽²²⁾. « Elle est telle que la Situation de ces Etats Le comporte et il est heureux que nos négocians n'y aient pas envoyés plus de Bâtimens. » On the contrary, smuggling was prosperous. « La Contrebande entre les Antilles Françaises et ce Continent », adds the Consul, « se fait au point que nos Denrées coloniales sont, dans ce moment, à meilleur marché à Boston, à Providence, à Portsmouth, qu'elles ne Le sont ordinairement en France. »

Monsieur de l'Estombe presided over the destinies of the little colony under his protection. Had it not been for his health, which was far from good, and is the object of many bitter complaints in his reports to Monseigneur de Castries, he might have found his fate a tolerable one. There were, of course, the usual calumnies and piques inseparable from diplomatic service in a foreign land. For example, when the Chevalier de Sainneville sailed into Boston harbour on the 22nd of August, 1788, some officers complained that « the Consul, though paid for that, did not keep open house as was the custom in the Levant or in Barbary ». To which innuendo de l'Estombe replied with bitter sadness that he had entertained

(21) Etat des Français résidans à Portsmouth, Boston et Providence dans l'année 1787.

<i>Noms et Surnoms.</i>	<i>Profession.</i>	<i>Lieu des Demeures.</i>
Cormerais de L'horme.		Boston.
Nebon.		»
Veron.		»
Jutau.		»
Ravaut.	Maître de Langue.	»
Nancrède.	Maître de Langue.	»
Masson et Garaux.		»

Il n'y a plus que deux établissemens. Le second député s'est retiré à la campagne où il vit. Le sieur Dumora est mort en mer et les sieurs St-Médard, Cailliau, Massé et Morel sont allés aux Isles.

(22) *Corresp. Cons. de Boston.*

MMrs. de Sainneville and Martigues at his house. « It has cost me this year », he added, « a little over six hundred francs, and cost me but a little less last year. During the war, my necessary expenditures on that account amounted to twice or thrice that figure ». Nor did the superiors of the Consul always make his work easier. When du Moustier, the French Ambassador, came to Boston, Hancock who had the gout as usual, hastened to write that he would be much honoured if the diplomat could pay him a visit at his convenience : to which invitation the latter replied that it was his custom at Philadelphia and New-York to receive, and not be received by, the Governor of the State. It is a pleasant contrast to turn from the bickerings of those two officials to the homage paid by the *Humane Society* of Boston to M. Scott de Balvery, a lieutenant on board one of the French vessels, who was awarded a gold medal for saving a shipboy from drowning in the harbour.

The squadron of de Sainneville was the harbinger of troubled times to the peaceful French Colony. In the last days of August, 1788, a mysterious passenger on board one of the vessels packed his things and quietly repaired to a fine house in Green Street, at the West End, the lodgings of that Baur de Bellerive whom the report of the Consul describes as a planter in Santo Domingo. We do not know what the two men had to say to each other, but from that time mass was celebrated in the house of the planter for the benefit of the Roman Catholics in Boston, who included not only the French Colony, but also the Irish immigrants, in greater number, still. How many were they in all ? It is difficult to say with any accuracy. Some think there were from 60 to 100 Catholics, others about 25. This more conservative figure, which is that of the French Consul, is probably the right one, from what we know of the French Colony (23). Brissot who was in Boston at the time of de Sainneville's visit writes : « Il n'y a point encore de chapelle catholique, mais il va s'en élever une; elle sera bâtie par un ministre protestant, converti, depuis quelque temps, au catholicisme. Le Révérend Docteur Thayer ...s'y est fait précéder de chasubles, de calices et de tous les autres ornements du culte catholique. Cette mission ne fait que piquer la curiosité : il y a 20 ans, elle aurait excité une persécution. » (24). This Dr. Thayer was soon to collaborate with the mysterious friend of Baur de Bellerive.

(23) See MERRITT (P.), *Sketches of the three earliest Catholic priests in Boston*, Cambridge, 1923.

(24) *Voyages*, I, 118,

Claude Florent Bouchard de la Poterie, that was his name, was born in Anjou of noble parents and had graduated at Angiers University. He was pleased to say so, at least. He had served, moreover, as a chaplain of the navy till he was dismissed from the service in disgrace, but that he preferred to keep secret. He arrived at Boston just as Dr. Thayer was organising the Catholic Church, and they collaborated for a time.

Thayer was a great favourite among the Irish and some of the Americans. Samuel Breck, the son of the General Agent of the French Fleet, helped him to organise the Roman Catholic Chapel in Boston⁽²⁵⁾. Yet, the Abbé de la Poterie seems to have been the vicar and Thayer, the curate. The old building of the French Huguenot Church was still standing, much dilapidated, to be sure, in School-House Lane, now School Street. The Congregational Church had been dissolved in 1785. In 1788, the whole was bought by the Roman Catholics and mass was celebrated for the first time on All Souls' Day, Nov. 2, 1788⁽²⁶⁾. The *Independent Chronicle* of Nov. 6, wrote on that occasion : « On Sunday last the 2nd instant, the Roman Catholic Chapel in School Street was opened and consecrated. The holy sacrifice of Mass was there celebrated by Monsieur l'abbé de la Poterie, Priest, Doctor of Divinity, Clerk, and Apostolic Missionary, who pronounced a French sermon at the evening service, and made solemn prayer for the dead, according to the rites and usage of the Romish Church upon All Saints Day. The concourse of people assembled was so great as to create an apprehension of some unfortunate accident, from the falling of the gallery, and they were obliged to make temporary props for the building, which, although dedicated to the worship of God, threatens immediate ruin, unless seasonably repaired ». On the following Sunday, the Church was dedicated « to the most Almighty God, under the title and invocation of the Holy Cross ». Later on, an appeal was made to the public for subscriptions for the purposes of fitting up and maintaining the church. La Poterie combined

(25) *Recollections*, 117. ' « I had the consent of my family to aid the new priest in establishing this chapel... I attended the mass and carried round the begging-box as quêteur... »

(26) « The earliest reference to the opening of the Church is found in the *Boston Gazette* of Nov. 3, 1788 : 'Yesterday, for the first time, Mass was publicly read at the French Chapel in School Street, formerly improved by the Reverend Mr. L'Mercier'. » (MERRITT, *op. cit.*, 177.)

with this appeal a notice to the effect that he was prepared to give instruction in the French, Latin, and Italian languages (27).

The celebration of mass provoked no hostile or unfriendly criticism in that town where it had been the custom for over a century to burn the effigy of the Pope on Guy Fawkes' Day (28). But the personality of the Abbé de la Poterie was not calculated to win him the sympathies of the population. The French Consul was most prudent, and politic on that occasion. He reports to Monseigneur de Castries (29) :

Boston, 30 Avril 1789.

J'ai l'honneur de Joindre à la présente une Lettre de M. de la Forest, relative à un abbé de la Poterie qui a ouvert, ici, une Eglise sous l'Invocation de la Sainte Croix, à ce autorisé par le Préfet Apostolique des Etats-Unis résidant à Baltimore. J'ai cru, Monseigneur, ne devoir point y considérer cet abbé comme français, et, en conséquence, devoir lui refuser l'appui de ma Chancellerie qu'il m'a demandé, et répondre simplement à sa requête que ses Actes de Baptême, mortuaires et autres y seraient légalisés aussitôt que son caractère et sa qualité auraient acquis la publicité de droit. Mais je l'ai favorisé par mon silence et en éludant toutes les questions que me faisaient sur son compte, des Magistrats, des Citoyens, des Ministres du St. Evangile. La Tolérance civile, Monseigneur, n'a été établie dans cette République que par sa constitution de 1774. Auparavant, la Religion Romaine y était soumise, comme en Angleterre, à des Lois de Prescriptions, ses Ministres à la peine de mort, et l'on y brûlait l'effigie du Pape tous les ans le premier de mars. J'avais donc intérêt à diminuer les Préjugés d'un Peuple notre Allié; j'y faisais des vœux *secrets* pour l'Etablissement de cette Eglise (qui aurait prospéré en de meilleures mains) et toutes les fois que l'Abbé de la Poterie est venu chez moi, je n'ai oublié ni conseils ni exhortation à cet effet. Malheureusement, cet abbé a montré ici de l'inconduite, y a contracté des Dettes, et on le dit en fuite aujourd'hui...

The rumour was premature. De la Poterie had gone to New-York, or Baltimore to have an interview with Bishop Carroll. Doubts had arisen as to his character and the minister had been obliged to issue an appeal « To the Publick » giving credentials in substantiation of his titles and dignities. When an appeal was made by the French

(27) MERRITT, *Ibid.*

(28) The unknown French traveller in Maryland in 1763, hearing the Catholics of the place speak of Boston puritanism, notes in his Diary : « In Boston they are rank Bigoted presbiterians, of these sort of people preserve me o Lord ». *American Historical Review*, XXVII, p. 73. Journal of a French traveller in the Colonies.

(29) *Aff. Etr. Corresp. Cons. de Boston.*

members of the Congregation to the Archbishop of Paris for assistance in equipping the church, the prelate « sent a needed outfit to the Church in Boston, but warned the Catholics against wandering priests, and informed them that faculties had been taken from de la Poterie in Paris on account of his culpable conduct » (30). On the 29th of May, 1789, the Abbé was suspended by the Rev. O'Brien of New-York sent by Carroll to examine into the charges preferred against him (31). His debts amounted to £ 86. On the 8th of July, he went to Quebec, but was back in Boston in December when, finding the Church in the hands of a new pastor, he meditated revenge, celebrating mass at Providence, in the meantime, as appears from a passage in the Diary of Ezra Stiles (32).

The successor of de la Poterie was one Abbé Louis de Rousselet who came to Boston probably in September 1789. The French Consul was more and more reserved in his attitude towards the new priest (33).

De l'Estombe à Monseigneur de Castries
du 2 décembre 1789.

Cet abbé était un aventurier intrigant ici avec un M. Baurry de Belle-rive, créole de St. Domingue. L'Abbé s'étant rendu coupable de vol a été obligé de fuir au Canada d'où l'on écrit qu'il s'est fait garçon tailleur.....

Il y a ici, dans ce moment, un Abbé, successeur du Premier, et aussi appelé par M. B. de B. qui est, comme ci-devant, le principal Marguillier de cette Eglise. Cet Abbé m'a apporté une Lettre de Recommandation de Monsieur de la Forest. Mais j'ai cru devoir Lui Répondre que « je n'ai point Qualité pour l'accréditer ici au nom du Roi; que c'est à lui à s'y placer selon les Loix du Pays et avec le consentement tacite du Peuple. Et que Lorsqu'il sera ainsi établi, il me sera permis seulement de fréquenter son Eglise dont la Communion est celle de mes Pères et la mienne... »

Les Ministres protestans, Presbitériens, Anabatistes, Anglicans, ne voient pas encore cet Etablissement de bon œil et il aurait besoin d'être

(30) MERRITT, *op. cit.*, 180 ff.

(31) *Ibid.*, 182.

(32) *Diary.*, III, 375. Dec. 20, 1789. « Tuesdy Dec. 8. 1789, the Romish Worshp. pformed for the first time in the Staté of Rh. Isl.—at Providence— « Festival of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, the Revd Abbe de la Poterie, French Roman Catho secular Priest & Dr. of Divy, celebrated the holy sacrifice of the Mass in Providence, et the Request of several Catholics of the Roman Communion. » *Provid. Gazette.*

(33) *Corresp. Cons. de Boston.*

fondé par un homme que l'on connaît et par un Margaillier moins turbulent que M. Baury de Bellerive.

Avant la Révolution, on brûlait ici, l'Effigie du Pape tous les ans le cinq Novembre. Cet usage ne dispose pas les Esprits et le souvenir en est encore trop récent pour que le Consul du Roi puisse changer l'opinion publique. M. le Comte de Pontevès-Gien et M. le Marquis de la Galiponnière (34) ont pensé de même et n'ont point assisté à la Cérémonie, pour la Fête de tous les Saints, à laquelle ils ont été invités. Cette congrégation est composée d'un Américain, de trois ou quatre Français et d'une vingtaine de pauvres Irlandais.

Rousselet immediately came into conflict with the Abbé de la Poterie when the latter was back in Boston. For a few weeks, the local papers were weighted with de la Poterie's charges and defences in the form of long and characteristic advertisements. There was some disturbance at the celebration of the mass on Christmas Eve, 1789, and it is highly probable that de la Poterie had a hand in it. That was his last flourish; for after January 1790 he disappears from public view and is supposed to have returned to Europe.

The Catholic Church in Boston was to know further trouble. For a time, Rousselet shared with Thayer the duties of the ministry till the relations between the two men got strained and the Frenchman was confirmed as the only pastor of the Holy Cross Church in Boston. This ran counter to the views of Thayer who had probably hoped that the shameful disgrace of de la Poterie would raise him to the first rank in the church. He was supported, besides, by the Irish element, more important numerically than the French Colony. The controversy between the two parties raged on in the papers, though Rousselet never took an active part in it.

Of course, the other denominations would more or less sneer at the quarrels of the Catholic Church and jeer at its « unity », until Bishop Carroll came to Boston at the end of May, 1791, to settle the matter. « He succeeded in uniting the two parties, who accepted Rev. Mr. Thayer; provision was made for the payment of debts incurred before the separation, including some created by the Abbé de la Poterie, and a bill due for church articles forwarded apparently through the Archbishop of Paris. Regulations were adopted for renting the pews, the best one in the church being reserved for the French Consul. » (35).

(34) Two officers of the French Fleet which stayed in Boston from the 4th of September to the first days of November, 1789.

(35) MERRITT, *op. cit.*, 206.

The agreement was only temporary for, in August 1792, the Bishop sent Father Matignon to take charge of the church in Boston. Rousselet went to the Indian mission. Then, when he came back, a collection was made in his favour, on the occasion of a marriage which he performed at Roxbury. We shall hear more of him later on.

While this church quarrel was raging, the French Colony in Boston had been deeply moved by another and far more important event : the Revolution of 1789. Politics ran high among the members of the small community. They had come over with no idea of settling permanently and kept much of their French spirit, taking great interest in the events that were troubling France at the time. They were slow to understand the full import of the Revolution for the obvious reason that news came but slowly. They lived besides, in a country where a revolution had passed and swept off the English control, while leaving much of the old state of things unchanged. Those of them who were, from the beginning, favourable to the French Revolution understood it, no doubt, as more or less imitated from the American movement. They were naturally Brissotins and could not sympathise with its more radical developments, while those refugees from the Isles or from France who came later were the enemies of whatever changes a revolution might accomplish.

The former group tried to avail itself of favourable circumstances when America was inclined to be well disposed towards France, to encourage sympathy and relations between the two countries and counteract British propaganda which was recommencing its work in the ex-colonies. Among the most enterprising propagandists of French ideas, the first in date and rank was Nancrède, the instructor in French at Harvard College (36).

He was an ex-soldier of the Régiment du Soissonnais who had been wounded at Yorktown and had chosen, as many did, to stay in America. Little is known of him until he came to Boston and taught French at Harvard. The merit of Nancrède was to see that something could be done to educate American opinion and teach it to appreciate French culture. He did his best at least, to materialise Brissot's idea of a better understanding between the two nations based on more intense commercial intercourse and a keener interest in the intellectual productions of France. When Brissot came to

(36) See *Harvard Advocate*. Déc. 3, 1913, and *Aff. Etr. Corresp. Cons. de Boston*.

Boston in 1788, he was very friendly with him and their correspondence seems to have been pretty frequent for a time⁽³⁷⁾. Was it Nancrède or Brissot who suggested the idea of publishing a French newspaper in Boston ? We do not know, but *Le Courier de Boston* (*L'utilité des deux Mondes*) which appeared for the first time on the 23rd of April, 1789, bears traces of Brissot's influence⁽³⁸⁾.

It was the first newspaper of that kind in New-England and it was issued regularly for six months every Thursday until October 15. The French Colony, of course, together with the French merchants or Captains who happened to stay in Boston for a few days would not be a sufficient public for the paper. « The 3/4 of our subscribers are Americans », writes Nancrède in the first number.

The paper, though mainly devoted to commercial news, had a double purpose, for it was used by Nancrède to make public certain opinions on questions of importance. The events in France were presented so as to keep their revolutionary character in the shade and much insistence was laid on the affection of the French people for their King and Queen, whereas the British propaganda was pleased to add fuel to flame. The arrival of the squadron of M. le Vicomte de Pontevès-Gien, in September, is the occasion of some reflections on British and French sailors⁽³⁹⁾. « Au moment où nous allons à la presse, on nous annonce l'arrivée de la Flotte Française, que quelques personnes nous ont assuré avoir découverte du fanal. Cette nouvelle, aussi agréable qu'elle est avantageuse aux citoyens de Boston, est trop vivement exprimée dans la joie et la satisfaction que font paroître tous les citoyens de cette ville, pour ne pas prouver notre attachement à une nation que nous regardons comme notre libératrice, et dont nous n'oublierons jamais les bienfaits. Jamais flotte Anglaise n'a causé la même joie à son arrivée, même avant la Révolution. Les petits avantages qu'elles procuroient à quelques marchands étoient trop contrebalancés par la conduite de leurs officiers et matelots; toujours matelots, ils sont toujours privés des qualités qui pourroient, sinon faire oublier, au moins pallier leurs housarderries. Quelle différence des Français qui ne nous ont jamais offert que la politesse la plus aisée, la plus sincère, et la mieux entendue ! De là la maxime « *Qu'un Corsaire Anglois fait*

(37) See *infra* the letter of Dannery.

(38) *Le Courier de Boston*. *L'Utilité des deux Mondes*. Affiches, Annonces, et Avis. Prix : 3 pence; 8 pages. A Boston. de l'imprimerie de Samuel Hall, libraire, dans le Cornhill, N° 33, où l'on peut se procurer chaque numéro.

(39) N° 20. Jeudi 3 Sept. 1789.

plus de tapage que toute une flotte Française ». Some pages on the real conditions of life in America were written by a man who knew it well and, at the same time, reproduce some of Brissot's favourite themes (40) : « La médiocrité de fortune presque générale dans toute l'Amérique obligeant chacun à travailler pour vivre, on y voit peu de ces vices qui résultent de la paresse..., l'athéisme y est inconnu, l'infidélité rare et secrète; en sorte qu'on peut parvenir à une très grande vieillesse dans ce pays, sans avoir eu la douleur de voir un athée ou un infidèle. L'Etre Suprême paroît avoir voulu marquer l'approbation qu'il donnoit au système de tolérance des Américains, en les comblant de faveurs et de prospérités. » Another time, Nancrède will reproduce Brissot's speech at the Election of the « District de la Rue des Filles St. Thomas, 21 avril 1789 ».

Intellectual relations between France and America ought to be developed, Nancrède thought. He, therefore, devoted a number of articles to Harvard College, expatiating on the part it might play in the work of promoting French culture among the Americans. And yet, how miserable the condition of French teaching in Cambridge ! « O combien seroit béni le François riche, le François vertueux qui appliqueroit ses bienfaits à la fondation d'un établissement aussi utile, aussi honorable, je dis plus, aussi patriotique ! Combien de voix chanteroient ses louanges ! hélas ! si les gens riches savoient le bien qu'ils pourroient faire, ils ne se ruineroient pas en équipages et en vaines poursuites ! L'université de Cambridge offre, à une belle âme, une si belle occasion de se montrer. »

On the 15th of October, 1789, the publication of the newspaper ceased. « Ce Numéro complétant la collection de six mois », wrote the Editor, « on prévient MM. les Souscripteurs que le *Courier de Boston* est suspendu. » He tells how he was robbed of \$.900 and draws a portrait of himself calculated to disarm the fiercest subscriber. « Ajoutez à ces fatalités », he adds, « une figure peu prévenante, timide, et que l'on peut croire sauvage, une constitution délicate, quoique robuste en apparence, minée par les chagrins et les traverses qu'il a essayés dans tout ce qu'il a entrepris; les circonstances sont peu propres à détruire les légères impressions qu'une infinité de défauts extérieurs et quelques ennemis s'efforcent d'accréditer contre lui » (41).

(40) Nos 7 & 8, June 4th and 8th.

(41) Nancrède announced his intention to take up the paper the following year if 400 subscribers could be found. The purpose of the new paper would be to encourage the study of the French language in America,

No wonder Nançrède had enemies in the French colony. We do not know whether he was really « le tourment du consulat », as Dannery reported later; but he could not try to play a conspicuous part in the politics of the colony without raising bitter hatred around him.

1792 had come and French people abroad to adopt a political attitude. In Boston, the members of the Colony took different positions. The Consul, de l'Estombes, the same who had appeared to Brissot 'slightly less of a monarchist than his colleagues in his judgment of America' (42) immediately sent in his certificate of civism and prepared to leave. Nançrède had published in 1791 an American edition of Brissot's *Discours sur le procès du Roi*, and he was the inspiring spirit of the *Club Républicain* which grouped about eleven persons and was to come into conflict with the French Consul a little later. The merchants of the Isles and a few refugees from Guadalupe formed the right wing. They gathered around the Abbé Rousselet, the ex-minister of the French Church, then just replaced by Matignon. Rousselet, it will be remembered, had been called to Boston by Baury de Bellerive. The *Columbian Centinel* of Wednesday, Nov. 21, 1792, contained « Propositions for publishing a periodical Paper in the French language, entitled *Le Courier Politique de l'Univers* ». The Paper was to give a just idea of the condition of France and sum up the events of the Revolution since 1788. There would be an issue every Monday, 4 pages in-4°, the price of subscription to be \$.2 for 6 months. J. Bumstead, Union Street, was the printer (43).

Nançrède was not responsible for this paper. John Quincy Adams, who had a hand in it, as a translator, wrote to his father, from Boston, on Dec. 16, 1792 : « A French and English newspaper has been commenced within town, which is to contain among other things a summary account of the French Revolution. This account is very handsomely written by one of the Aristocratic party now here, having been driven from the Island of St. Domingo by the triumphant faction there. He has aimed at impartiality as much as he could, but if you read the narratives, you will find he is very bitter against the Duke of Orleans to whom he attributes all the calamities of his country. The first number only has been published, and the Editor has forwarded one of them to you which he will

(42) *Voyages*, Préface, xi.

(43) *Colonial Society of Massachusetts Publications*, Vol. 24 (1920-22), April 1921, p. 296.

continue to do. The translation of that part of the paper will be done by me, and I imagine the paper itself will not be continued long after that publication is finished. The proposals are only for 6 months. »

The political tendencies of the paper are made clearer, still, by the following note in the *Argus* of Dec. 11. « The French Revolution Defeated.—TWENTY-FOUR FRENCHMEN, *in and near the town of Boston*, have entered a PROTEST in the office of a Notary Public in Boston, against the *French Revolution*... But as these PROTESTORS have a Gazette of their own, under the PRIEST, which will be out within a day or two, we will refer the readers to that for the wonderful effects of this new experiment in War, and Politicks ».

The paper was short-lived. Only six issues appeared (Dec. 10, 1792 to Jan. 14, 1793). On Jan. 19, 1793, the *Centinel* published the following notice : « *M. Rousselet*, Editor of the *Courier Politique de l'Univers*, being suddenly called to the Island of Guadeloupe, by the desire of a great number of its inhabitants, in order to fulfill the duties of an apostolic missionary, has the honor to testify his regrets to the subscribers of this paper, that he is unable to complete the task he had undertaken... » The Abbé was guillotined there in 1794 and nobody ever thought of taking up the publication of the *Courier Politique de l'Univers*.

When the new consul, Dannery, arrived at Boston, at the beginning of 1792, from Paris where the Terror was raging, he found that things were not going as he wished in the area under his jurisdiction.

The public opinion of the land, first, was not so favourable as he had believed. The French Revolution had aroused sympathies, even in Boston. The New-Englanders understood it mainly as an effort on the part of France to shake off the yoke of royalty and secure religious independence from Rome. Even the Clergy were sympathetic, for they expected a new Reformation and a movement in favour of what Brissot called « les mœurs ». At Gray's Gardens a concert was held on July 5, 1790, when an ode was sung expressing the wish :

May Gallia's and Columbia's hands
Be joined by freedom's sacred bands,
Till Time shall be no more (44).

In 1793, still, a Civic Feast was celebrated on the 23rd of January

(44) H. M. Jones, *op. cit.*, 336.

in honour of the French Revolution. It was only one of many events of the kind, though more elaborate than others ⁽⁴⁵⁾.

Yet, a contrary movement might easily be detected. Good old Dr. Cooper had long been dead and no one had taken his place. The new states obviously wanted to be more friendly with England, while all the Tories and most of the Boston clergy urged the government to some course of politics leading to an agreement. The *Independent Gazetteer* was hostile to France. Other papers, while less frankly inimical, were naturally open to British propaganda, modelling their pages on those of British Gazettes, for news from French sources were scarce and translators difficult to find. As years passed, and as Revolutionary independence from Rome turned to deism and atheism, New-England frowned. Noah Webster wrote that France free from Popish superstition was now falling into new kinds of bigotry and remained essentially pagan, as the worship of Reason proved only too well. The sermon of David Osgood against France and her Revolution was widely read and when Jedediah Morse added his bit, the French cause was lost in the minds of the more conservative people. The contrary opinion had its supporters, of course. In 1794, the Boston papers published letters commenting on and praising Robespierre's Speech on Science and Religion of April 21. The trend of public opinion, however, was against the new state of affairs in France. « La situation politique de la France dans le Massachusetts », wrote Dannery in his first report, « y est beaucoup plus défavorable que dans aucune autre partie de l'Amérique ».

Now, when he turned to the French Colony, Dannery had little cause for satisfaction. The opinions of the French in Boston were not in tune with those of a Parisian of the same period. Those sober merchants or local politicians considered the Revolution as accomplished and were no friends of Robespierre. They saw with mistrust the efforts of France to surpass America in revolutionary passion. When it was known that, after the execution of Louis XVI and the death of the Girondins, the French Government was sending to Boston one Dannery as the successor of de l'Étombe, the *Club Républicain* grew indignant. Brissotins like Nançrède, their leader, they hated the new-comer as a representative of that more advanced fraction which had caused the fall of the Girondins. The enthusiastic

(45) Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1895. For all this, see FAX, *op. cit.*

Nancrède immediately pounced upon the occasion of avenging Brissot's death. He composed a « short memoir » against the new Consul and read it complacently to the Club. Nay, he expanded it into an anonymous pamphlet which he was careful to send to France, while he generously delivered copies of it to a great number of people in Boston⁽⁴⁶⁾. Nancrède fulminated against the « new Tyrant » who came to reign over the French Colony in Boston, while the Tyrant had been put to silence in France. He vowed to public execration « D'Annery, ancien mignon du Tyran » whom he reproached with more than one offence, the last in date being the spoiling of a French privateer *La Marseillaise* of her lawful prizes. This done, Nancrède watched for the effects of his wiles.

When he became aware of the existence of the pamphlet, Dannery grew perfectly furious. Then, he immediately wrote to the French authorities in Paris how he came to discover it and how prejudicial the slander had proved to his diplomatic success in Boston⁽⁴⁷⁾. He speaks of « un malheureux libelle composé ici contre toutes les autorités constituées de France en Amérique. Il est sans signature », he adds, « sans nom d'auteur ni d'imprimeur, sans date ni lieu d'impression. J'y suis nommé et on a eu la malice d'ajouter une apostrophe à mon nom pour m'annoblir... » Then he tells how he came to know the author of the libel. « ...Il existe à Boston un ancien soldat du Régiment de Soissonnais nommé Nancrède : on dit qu'il ne manque pas d'une sorte d'esprit. Cet homme réside ici depuis huit ans. Il s'y est marié, il y a des propriétés, j'ignore s'il est naturalisé, il est Professeur de langue française à l'université de Cambridge. Cet homme dont le Citen Létombe peut vous donner le caractère, a été de tous tems le tourment du Consulat. Il écrit et parle mal le français, mais il paroît qu'il possède bien l'anglais, et les papiers publics ayant ici toute licence, il les remplit sans cesse d'horreurs anonymes.

» Il se lia étroitement avec Brissot lors de son voyage en Amérique et a entretenu une correspondance exacte avec le conspirateur...

» J'arrivai en Amérique et le Citen Genêt me recommanda cet homme en me disant qu'il étoit excellent traducteur, quoique je

(46) Two copies of it may be seen in the Doc. of the Aff. Etr. Corresp. Consul. de Boston. The title of the pamphlet is : *Les Citoyens François/habitant les Etats-Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale à leur patrie, à ses Représentants.* (17 pages.)

(47) Corresp. Cons. de Boston. Lettre de Dannery. Fructidor an 2 de la r. f. v. et i.

susse bien l'anglois, je le parlois fort feu et fort mal, je crus que cet homme pourroit m'être utile... » Then, he heard, he says, that Nançrède was scorned by all honest men and was the President of a Club whose members he names (48). « Je ne connais point ces français... jamais ils ne m'ont vu ni parlé (excepté Amblard qui a été mon tailleur, et Guédron qui s'est fait ami de mes domestiques pour Espionner mon intérieur). » He goes on to tell how he has been outraged in his own house by honest people of the town and how the truth came to him on the occasion of the 14th of July. He had prepared a little entertainment and he was much vexed when he heard the Governor refused to be present, understanding the whole had been organised by Nançrède and was merely a private affair. It appears that Nançrède had passed himself off as *persona grata* at the Consulate, and official master of the ceremonies. He proposed to avail himself of the opportunity to read a speech of his own which, of course, would hardly have been calculated to please the feelings of Dannery. The latter heard of it and was given copies of the libel by some American friends.

Then, suddenly, a compromise was come to, through the offices of Moveton, the lawyer of the Consulate. Nançrède whose situation was probably unsettled and who thought too much scandal would mar his position as French Instructor at Harvard, relented and accepted to stop his attacks. As for Dannery he was glad to silence that dangerous fellow, and wrote him a letter which he made as magnanimous as possible :

Fructidor an 2 de la r. f. u et i.

Monsieur

N'ayant plus besoin du secours des tribunaux pour établir les preuves d'un fait dont je ne doutais pas plus que vous-même, mais qu'il m'importait de constater légalement, celui que vous êtes l'auteur et le distributeur d'un libelle contre toutes les autorités constituées de la République françoise en Amérique, je renonce de ce moment à toutes poursuites, je n'ai jamais cherché à vous faire punir, et vous le sçavez bien, je ne voulois que me couvrir de la vérité contre la calomnie.

Je fais plus aujourd'hui, en considération de votre respectable épouse et de vos enfants, Je vous pardonne et souhaite seulement que vous puissiez vous pardonner vous-même.

Vous avez promis à Monsieur Moveton de ne jamais parler ni écrire contre moi; Monsieur, je vous dégage de cette promesse, et c'est en mon

(48) Nançrède, Véron, Gérard, Ouvré, Martin, Themour, Guédron, Murat, Amblard, Cavin, Malval.

nom, comme en celui de toutes les autorités françaises constituées en Amérique que je vous invite à vous montrer hautement, à datter et à signer toutes les dénonciations que vous croirez désormais devoir faire; mais signez car je vous avertis qu'il existe des decrets qui ne sont pas favorables aux anonymes et aux dénonciations sans preuves bien établies.

Je vous donne ma parole que je ne poursuivrai jamais sur rien de ce genre en Amérique et qu'en France je ne ferai que me justifier....

Thus ended not too brilliantly the political life of Nançrède, Instructor in French and bookseller⁽⁴⁹⁾. He wisely resumed his professorial and editorial occupations. He had published in 1792 *L'Abeille Française*, a book of prose extracts, « nouveau recueil de morceaux brillants des auteurs français les plus célèbres, ouvrage utile à ceux qui étudient la langue française et amusant pour ceux qui la connoissent ». Bernardin de St. Pierre held an important place in those extracts. He was a « sensible » author and Nançrède wished him to represent French literature in America⁽⁵⁰⁾. « Les mœurs » were respected in his works and this induced him to undertake the publication of an edition of the *Etudes de la Nature* translated by Henry Hunter, D. D. Then came an edition of *Télémaque* in 1797 and in 1804, the *Forum Orator or the American Public Speaker*. Nançrède was no longer an instructor after 1800. He left the country a short time after and died in France, an old man, in 1841. On the whole, that typical French emigrant, with all his qualities and defects, had proved a useful agent of French literature in Boston.

Meanwhile, the French Consul was given the unforeseen spectacle of a French Catholic Church being organised in his department by a nonjuring priest. Father Matignon found the task of presiding over the destinies of the new church a hard one, especially in view of the increasing numbers of Irish immigrants. He looked around

(49) *Boston Directory for 1800*, p. 80 : Nançrède Joseph, bookseller and stationer, N° 49, Marlborough Street.

(50) Massachusetts Historical Society. MSS. *Pickering Papers*. 41. (280). Pamphlet : Proposals for publishing by subscription, /The following justly celebrated and universally admired work, /Embellished with an Elegant Frontispiece, representing Philocles in the Island of Samos, and five beautiful Plates, one explanatory of the /New Theory of the Tides, and four other, Descriptive of /Natural History/engraved in a superior style;/STUDIES OF NATURE. /Translated from the French of James Henry/Bernardin de St. Pierre/by HENRY HUNTER D. D./author of the sacred biography.

In a letter to Col. Pickering dated May 13, 1796, Nançrède proposes to inscribe the edition to the President of the United States. (*Pickering Papers*, 277.)

him for help, but it was a delicate matter as the church was to expect no support from the government and it could not afford to repeat the errors of the years 1788-1792 in a community which was growing mistrustful of France again. Then he remembered one of his former pupils, when he was a teacher at the Sorbonne, one de Cheverus, a young man of 27 now, who had been a curate at Mayenne for some time, then had refused to take the oath, and had been forced to flee to England in 1791. He wrote to him in 1793, painted the miserable condition of his mission and pointed out that a new church might be created. On the 3rd of October, 1796, de Cheverus landed safely in Boston where he was lodged first at the French Inn and then with the Abbé Matignon in Leverett's Lane⁽³¹⁾. The new-comer had to win the sympathies of the population, little by little, till, with the aid of persons of almost every sect, including John Adams, who, as a congregationalist, had always been a friend of the French, a new church could be built in 1803.

Besides those more or less permanent residents in Boston, a new wave of refugees had been washed on the American shores. Very different from the Huguenots, these emigrants had no mind to stay in America and as they did not mean to plant deep roots, they seldom made efforts, with the exception of Brillat-Savarin, to familiarise themselves with American ways.

Little may be said of Châteaubriand. His impressions of Boston are purely literary and the vaguest possible. He saw many things which nobody had seen before him in America, creating some of them, when need was, but he does not seem to have paid much attention to what everybody could see. As a matter of fact, one has doubted whether he came to Boston at all⁽³²⁾, for all he says about his visit. « J'allai en pèlerinage à Boston », he writes⁽³³⁾, « pour saluer le premier champ de bataille de la liberté américaine. J'ai vu les champs de Lexington, je m'y suis arrêté en silence, comme le voyageur aux Thermopyles, à contempler la tombe de ces guerriers des deux mondes, qui moururent les premiers pour obéir aux lois de la patrie. En foulant cette terre philosophique qui me disait dans sa muette éloquence, comment les empires se perdent et s'élèvent, j'ai confessé mon néant devant les voies de la Providence, et

(31) See *Bostonian Society Publication*, N° 2, 1903, p. 3; Jean Lefebvre de Cheverus.

(32) See M. STATHERS, *Châteaubriand et l'Amérique*, Grenoble, 1905.

(33) *Voyage en Amérique*.

baissé mon front dans la poussière... » This is not the first author who disappoints us.

We shall have to turn to some other quarter for impressions on late 18th Century life in Boston. In spite of the letters, diaries, memoirs, and books of the sailors, soldiers, and travellers of the revolutionary days, America was an ever new subject. Much remained to be said about it and the most trifling details were still welcome. The anonymous writer who sent his prose to the Editor of the *Bibliothèque Américaine*⁽³⁴⁾, noted down some American traits with pitiless accuracy. They are not very different from what the earlier memoirs have told us. Yet, this traveller observes the influence of Mary Wollstonecraft on the psychology of the American woman. « Il existe à Salem, ville très commerçante et peu éloignée de Boston », he writes, « une dame qui tient école d'énergie et de perfectibilité. Elle instruit ses élèves à soumettre tout à l'analyse et à la raison. Au lieu de manier l'aiguille, le pinceau, la navette, ces fières Américaines apprennent à sauter, à dresser un cheval, à conduire un phaeton, et à bien asséner un coup de poing. »; The following picture of Boston society is both amusing and true to life : « Les femmes de New-York ont conservé, jusqu'à un certain point, les habitudes hollandaises, et sont extrêmement laborieuses. Elles ne dédaignent point d'aller faire leur provisions journalières au marché... Il n'en est pas de même à Boston : les femmes y laissent à leurs maris le soin de pourvoir aux besoins sans cesse renaissants de la vie animale. Elles passent ordinairement la matinée à chiffonner ou à trotter de boutique en boutique, le long de la rue Cornhill où se trouvent les magasins d'étoffe à la mode et autres objets de luxe. Elles appellent cela *to go a shopping*, comme qui diroit aller *boutiquer*...

» Pendant que les femmes s'occupent de faire plier et déplier la gaze et la mousseline, les bons maris travaillent au comptoir, et se rendent ensuite au marché qui fait partie de Faneuil Hall, ou maison de ville. Vous les voyez revenir au logis, chargés de provision; l'un porte un gigôt de mouton, celui-ci une morue fraîche, celui-là une énorme pièce de bœuf. Les gens aisés, ou qui se piquent de l'être, se font suivre par une brouette où sont amoncelés, pêle-

(34) *Bibliothèque Américaine* par une Société de Savans et d'Hommes de Lettres, à Paris chez H. Caritat, éditeur, membre de l'Académie des Arts de New-York, etc., et chez Barrois fils, libraire, Quai Voltaire, N° 5. An 1807.— Correspondance inédite d'un Français qui a résidé dans les Etats-Unis depuis l'année 1793 jusqu'en 1803. M. A. J.

mêle, choux, raves, pommes de terre, viande, poisson, et autres élémens de bonne chère. Je citois un jour à une Bostonienne l'exemple des dames de New-York, sur quoi elle me répondit : *It is well enough for a Dutch woman; but I am sure no New-England lady would stoop to it.* » (55). This psychology already belongs to the nineteenth century. No traveller had before noted that growing supremacy of woman.

Now, as to the *émigrés* who came to Boston in those days, what was the attitude of the French Colony, which contained a majority of republicans ? It is best described in the words of the Marquise de la Tour du Pin. She landed on the 12th of May, 1794, after a very hard passage. « Les vivres frais arrivèrent de tous côtés », she writes. « Il vint aussi plusieurs Français fort impatients d'avoir des nouvelles et qui nous assaillirent de questions auxquelles nous ne pouvions répondre que très imparfaitement. L'un voulait savoir ce qui se passait à Lille, l'autre à Grenoble, un troisième à Metz, tous surpris et presque en colère de n'obtenir de réponses que sur Paris ou sur la France en général. C'étaient pour la plupart des gens fort communs ; des marchands ruinés ; des ouvriers qui cherchaient du travail. Ils nous semblèrent tous plus ou moins révolutionnaires, et ils trouvèrent à leur tour que nous étions des aristocrates échappés au supplice que, selon eux, nous avions bien mérités pour notre tyrannie passée. Ils nous quittèrent de fort mauvaise humeur, et nous en fûmes débarrassés pour tout le temps que nous restâmes à Boston. » (56). Madame de la Tour du Pin stayed at the house of Mr. Geyer, « un des plus riches propriétaires de Boston and was much pleased with the marks of sympathy she received from her host and friends. She had been obliged to cut her hair during the passage, finding it impossible to comb it. « Mes cheveux coupés courts derrière la tête parurent avoir été un commencement de préparation au dernier supplice. L'intérêt qu'on nous témoignait en fut encore augmenté. J'eus beau expliquer qu'il n'en était rien. Il n'y eut pas moyen de faire renoncer les bons habitants de Boston à leur idée. »

About the same time, that Byronesque figure, Talleyrand, was expelled from England and, disgusted with every place, went to America for no other reason than that it was no longer possible for him to stay in Europe. He is very careful to make it known that

(55) *Ibid.*, 168-169.

(56) *Journal d'une Femme de Cinquante Ans, 1778-1813*, Paris, 1913, Vol. II, p. 3.

he found nothing of interest in the New World. « J'y arrivai », he says, « plein de répugnance pour les nouveautés qui, généralement, intéressent les voyageurs. J'eus bien de la peine à rappeler en moi un peu de curiosité. » (37). He spent in Boston the months of July and August, 1794, when he put up at the old Hancock Tavern and was entertained at the Craigie House in Cambridge (later to become Longfellow House), the talented mistress of which piqued her unpolished husband by talking to her guest in his native tongue (38). There was a visit, once, to the studio of Gilbert-Stuart, when the painter emitted the just remark : « If that man is not a villain, the Almighty does not write a legible hand. » (39). Talleyrand's judgment on America is not exactly impartial, biased as he was by his temperament, the circumstances under which he saw the country and the disillusionment of the Jay Treaty. In his *Mémoire sur les Relations Commerciales des Etats-Unis avec l'Angleterre* followed by an *Essai sur les Avantages à retirer des Colonies Nouvelles dans les Circonstances présentes* which he read at a public sitting of the National Institute (15 Messidor An V), he vented his ill-humour which was to manifest itself more clearly still in the Affair of the X. Y. Z. papers (60).

Less conspicuous than Talleyrand, the Duc de Chartres, afterwards Louis-Philippe, stayed a while in Boston, teaching French in the apartments of James Amblard, a tailor (61), who lived at the corner of Hanover and Marshall Streets, to tide over a period when expected remittance from his mother failed to arrive (62).

(37) *Mémoires du Prince de Talleyrand*, publiés par le duc de Broglie, Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1891, I, 232.

(38) CRAWFORD, *op. cit.*, II, 378.

(39) *Ibid.*

(60) Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 7.—Dans toute la partie de l'Amérique que j'ai parcourue, je n'ai pas trouvé un seul Anglais qui ne se trouvât américain, pas un seul Français qui ne se trouvât étranger...

P. 15.—...Que l'on considère ces cités populeuses remplies d'Anglais, d'Allemands, d'Irlandais, de Hollandais, et aussi d'habitants indigènes; ces bourgades lointaines, si distantes l'une de l'autre; ces vastes contrées incultes, traversées plutôt qu'habitées par des hommes qui ne sont d'aucun pays. Quel lieu commun concevoir au milieu de ces disparités ?...

P. 16.—...Le bûcheron américain ne s'intéresse à rien... c'est de détruire qui le fait vivre... et si en s'allant il n'oublie pas sa hache, il ne laisse pas de regrets là où il a vécu des années...

P. 17.—...Les pêcheurs... quelques morues de plus ou de moins déterminent leur patrie...

(61) See above p. 81.

(62) CRAWFORD, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

Brillat-Savarin is the most brilliant of that band of *émigrés*. The mayor of Belley was compelled to emigrate in 1793 and sailed for New-York in June, 1794. In the autumn of the next year, he went to Boston (63). Our gourmet is enthusiastic about the town. He writes to a friend :

Boston, 22 Janvier 1796.

...Je suis presque certain que vous avez emporté une injuste et fausse opinion du peuple américain, parce que vous n'étiez pas encore assez accoutumé à ses manières, ou bien que vous étiez trop profondément imbu des préjugés européens. Vous étiez aussi trop affecté du malheur de votre exil volontaire sur le rivage américain. Pour moi, plus j'arrive à connaître les Américains, plus je me prononce en leur faveur. Ma première impression s'est modifiée souvent en bien et rarement en mal.

...Boston est une charmante petite ville avec port de mer. Elle est de troisième ordre par son importance dans l'Union, n'ayant pas plus de 25.000 habitants, leur sociabilité, leur affabilité, leur politesse sont grandes, sans être exagérées. J'ai pu apprécier leur inexprimable bonté et je suis resté trois mois au milieu d'eux, dans une *perpétuelle ronde* de fêtes et de banquets dont quelques uns n'auraient pas déparé les plus brillantes maisons de Paris. Les femmes y sont excessivement belles. On en rencontre quelquefois dans les loges de théâtre qui ont des figures célestes, &c...

The century closes with the visit of Laroche foucauld-Liancourt who saw Boston in 1797 and liked it very much. « Un étranger », he wrote, « est promptement en connaissance avec tout le monde, promptement invité partout avec un air d'obligeance qui ne lui permet pas de douter de la sincérité de l'invitation. » He cannot forbear, however, to mention some darker traits : « Le désir de gagner de l'argent y est la passion commune et dominante; elle y est ouvertement avouée; et ce peuple, sous une apparence de franchise et de rudesse, est fin et rusé. Déjà, on dit dans les autres Etats que les habitants de la Nouvelle Angleterre sont *honnêtes selon la lettre de la loi*. » (64).

The last few years of the Century are dark years indeed for Franco-American relations. France had her partisans and there was no universal feeling of hatred comparable to that which reigned in the first half of the Century, but the Directory's retaliation in

(63) *Revue de la Société Littéraire, historique et archéologique de l'Ain*, 2^e Année, page 44. Lettres inédites de Brillat-Savarin. 1795-1796 (E. Dufay). Hartford, le 25 Oct. 1795.

« ...Le lendemain matin, je partis à pied pour Boston avec de la Massue (un émigré français)... Je passerai donc 3 ou 4 mois dans cette capitale du Massachusset qui est le berceau de la liberté américaine, d'où je vous écrirai. »

(64) Vol. V, 253 ff.

answer to the Jay Treaty (1795) and especially Talleyrand's undiplomatic attitude in the negotiations that followed created high tension which was to culminate in the war-threat of 1798-1800 when the Federalists were bitterly hostile. The Alien Act of 1798 was passed mainly against French residents, empowering the President to banish without trial all aliens whom he believed to be dangerous to the safety of the United States. The Act was never enforced, for John Adams, the President, was perhaps the one man in his party who had no ill-will towards France, but hundreds of Frenchmen left the country where they had but little interest, indeed.

The French merchants saw the conclusion of the Jay Treaty with sadness, but to the supporters of French culture it was a worse blow, still. At Harvard, the majority of professors and students were hostile to France and the latter would rebel against their instructors, pretending all Frenchmen were Jacobins and held dangerous theories. The view was commonly held among those young people that France had done away with society in part of Europe and the most scurrilous remarks about her and her citizens were vented abroad. Nançrède was forced to quit, under the pressure of public opinion. In 1798, Harvard abolished the French dialogue that accompanied each commencement and when the nineteenth century opened, French was no longer taught at the University⁽⁶⁵⁾.

Nançrède's efforts were practically lost. The teaching of French was everywhere declining. Not only did many French teachers leave the territory but there was much indifference to that discipline among the public. In 1795 and 1796, according to Fay, the papers were still advertising lessons of French by various French teachers : 3 in Philadelphia, 4 in New York, 2 in Baltimore, 1 in Pittsburg, 1 in Princeton, 8 in Charleston, 1 in New-Haven. There was none in Boston. M. Bd. Goyneau was the last to be permitted to open a school in Boston, and that was in 1794⁽⁶⁶⁾. Two years later, M. Sales was « refused permission to keep a French Evening School in the Center Reading School »⁽⁶⁷⁾.

New-England was not late in adopting an anti-French attitude. Newspapers and sermons resumed their gallophobic campaigns, till, by 1800, there were probably fewer French people in Boston than in 1700.

(65) See FAY, *op. cit.*, 302 ff.

(66) On Sept. 24. *Selectmen's Records*.

(67) Sept. 7, 1796. *Ibid.*

A few remarks will close this chapter of Franco-American history. It is but a chapter of local history, after all, and strongly influenced by local traditions. Boston is not all America, and the story of French immigration in Boston is by no means characteristic of what happened all over the territory of the Colonies. On the contrary, it is a tale the like of which was never told anywhere.

It is a story of contrasts. Never was a town more crowded at one time with French elements. For 4 years (1778-1782), no other city of importance saw more of France than Boston did. Nowhere, on the other hand, were the reactions of the people more extreme, either for enthusiasm, or, more often, for bitter scorn. Nowhere, on the whole, did the minds of the people oppose a stronger barrier to French influence. Nowhere were the traces of the passage of the French so thoroughly washed away.

How is it, then, that in the city of Faneuil Hall, when a Bowdoin was in office, when a Revere played such a conspicuous part in the Revolution, the French should have found no warmer welcome, no better understanding ?

The mobility of the American temper, easily flying from one extreme to another, will no doubt account for the variations of public opinion in its attitude to France. Yet, viewed as a whole, allowing for temporary enthusiasm or despite, it cannot be denied that, in Boston, French influence in the XVIIIth Century hardly ever was more than a fashion, and struck no deep roots.

The Huguenots, as we saw, did very little to foster it, though none could have done it better than they. Puritan New-England felt akin to the Huguenot spirit and the French Refugees were soon americanised. It was a question of sympathy. Because they had left behind all that reminded them of their former habits and had entirely devoted themselves to their new country, the French Protestants in Massachusetts might expect to have some influence on the people around them, but it was mostly a matter of personality. France was not even in the background. So long as she was in Canada, she was sure to be the enemy.

It is to be noted, too, that, in the most typical instances, and for obvious reasons, it is only the second generation of Huguenots on American soil which emerges from obscurity. All the troubles of

emigration had been gone through, the work of assimilation was over, the qualities of the race could come to light again, the stronger for the transplantation. Such is the case with the Faneuils, the Bowdoins, the Reveres.

The question is, Was the second wave of French immigration calculated to leave any lasting influence behind it ? Circumstances were certainly as favourable as ever, since the birth of the Puritan commonwealth. Those temporary visitors were more brilliant, to be sure, than any the Colony had ever seen. They told more about France than the Huguenots had done. They showed her in her most dazzling splendour. The *élite* in Boston found many qualities to admire in them, besides that elegance in manners which the world was fond of. Yet, the utmost that can be said of their influence on Boston is that they probably gave a fresh impulse to the teaching of French and induced some of the more distinguished persons to cast a look into French Literature and take an interest in things French.

Let us note, though, that during the years when the presence of the French might have told most on the community, the activities of the people were engaged in a struggle for life which left them little time for leisure. French influence might have had its time after victory and peace, and there was some indication of a movement of that kind. But then it was time for the French to leave and what small demand there was for French culture was bound to remain unsatisfied, save through the effects of second—or third-rate teachers or editors.

The tale would be a vastly different one, of course, if we were concerned with the South, which was prepared and willing to adopt French manners and ways of thinking. Not so with Boston. The French Army was welcomed there after Yorktown, no doubt, but it would have required a long stay in the town, and missionary zeal to erase so many prejudices, especially in view of the attraction England was exercising again over the merchants. All that Nan-crède could do, was to entertain the flickering light which the blast of 1798 was to blow out.

It might strike one as a paradox that the only lasting French influence in the land of the Pilgrim Fathers should have been that of the Roman Catholic Church. But there again, it was largely a matter of individual action : de Cheverus was responsible for it. Add to this that the growing Irish and Canadian element which was to conquer Boston over the older residents, began to make itself felt.

Lastly, French influence in New-England was the slower to penetrate as it was not one of masses. The French immigrants did not propose to change the face of the country or do any big work that would be visible to all. The better part of them were brilliant, unpractical individuals more anxious to enjoy their American experiences than to watch the feelings of the populations. That they made a favourable impression cannot be doubted. Let us say they paved the way to the better knowledge and more sympathetic appreciation of France that were to come later.

Paris, le 6 novembre 1928.
*Le Doyen de la Faculté des Lettres
de l'Université de Paris,*

H. DELACROIX.

VU ET PERMIS D'IMPRIMER :
Le Recteur de l'Académie de Paris,

S. CHARLETY.

APPENDIX I

A Letter of the Daughter of Merlino de St. Pry to the Marquis de Lafayette. (Harvard College Library-Treat Bequest.)

Boston, May 25th, 1815.

His Excellency the Marquis de la Fayette,
May it please your Excellency

The subscriber begs leave to address your Excellency for the purpose of calling to your recollection, one who was an Officer in the service of the late King of France Louis 16th, Bennette Merlino de St. Pry, the father of the subscriber; he resided many years in Boston, was married there, and when this place was honoured by the presence of your Excellency, in the Revolutionary War, I have been informed he was known to your Excellency, he afterwards went to France in quest of some property left him by his relations, and died there. I have also been informed that his aunt died, & left considerable property to him, which in consequence of his death was deposited in the public coffers; he was originally an inhabitant of Lyons, as I have understood, when he died he left his widow my late mother, together with a son who is now living, and the subscriber his daughter. My motive in presuming to trouble your Excellency upon this subject is to gain information of the place of residence of my late Father and this property said to be left him and deposited as above said; and also to know whether the same can be obtained, and in what manner, upon proper credentials being forwarded. If your Excellency would have the goodness to condescend to make the necessary inquiries, and give information relative to the same to His Excellency William Eustis, Minister of the United States to Holland with whom your Excellency was acquainted in America, and by his permission I now name him, or to Captain Porter, who has the goodness to take this out with him to France, it would greatly oblige the Children of said St. Pry, who are far from being in easy circumstances, and to whom any property that may rightfully belong to them, would greatly relieve their wants, and lay them under everlasting obligations to your Excellency....

APPENDIX II

A Letter of Brissot to James Bowdoin.
(Massachusetts Historical Society. MSS. Bowdoin and Temple
Papers. IV, 85.)

Paris, 1^o février 1787.

Monsieur,

D'après l'assurance que m'a donnée mon digne ami M. de St.-John de Crèveccœur que vous voudriés bien agréer une correspondance qui a surtout pour objet le bien des Etats-Unis et de la France, je prens la Liberté de vous écrire sur différens objets et de profiter du départ du Capitaine Cossin pour vous faire parvenir ma lettre et les différens papiers qui l'accompagnent.

Vous trouverés d'abord dans ce paquet Le prospectus d'une Société Gallo-Américaine qui se forme maint^t à Paris, dont M. de Crèveccœur est membre, dont je suis nommé secrétaire. Je n'ai pas besoin de vous en expliquer l'objet; il est suffisamment développé dans ce prospectus. Nous voulons principalement faire connaître en Europe les excellentes institutions qui ont lieu chés vous, et former un dépôt où l'on puisse de toutes parts venir s'instruire. Les Américains sont maltraités ou calomniés dans la plupart des gazettes Européennes; j'ai déjà en mon particulier, et au nom de cette Société, réclamé publiquement contre les calomnies. Doué des lumières que vous avés il ne vous sera pas difficile de pressentir les avantages d'un pareil établissement, aussitôt qu'il aura pris quelque consistance. Il deviendra le point où se réuniront tous les Américains qui viendront en France. M. de Crèveccœur a donné déjà à cette société plusieurs ouvrages américains, au nombre desquels se trouve le 1^o vol. des Mémoires de L'académie de Boston. J'y ai vu avec plaisir trois dissertations publiées sous votre nom.

Vous trouverés encore dans ce paquet 2 prospectus, l'un Concernant un voiage en Asie et des observations sur les Antiquités. J'en connois l'auteur, et cet ouvrage ne peut être qu'infinitement intéressant. L'autre a pour objet Les Langues. L'auteur y prétend que le Celtique ou le bas-breton est la matière de toutes les langues. Si ce système n'est pas vrai, il faut au moins convenir qu'il est exposé avec adresse et d'une manière séduisante. M. de Crèveccœur m'a dit que ces ouvrages vous feroient plaisir, ce qui m'a engagé à vous les adresser. D'ailleurs la Communication au public, si vous la faites, ne pourra qu'être intéressante pour les savans d'Amérique.

J'ai joint à ces paquets un ex. de ma critique des *Voyages* de Mr. de Chastellux. J'en ai envoyé 90 il y a environ 6 mois en Amérique, et comme je n'en ai point de nouvelles, je suppose que tout a été perdu. On doit publier contre cette critique une réponse, et dans les éclaircissements qu'elle m'obligera de donner, je rétracterai plusieurs erreurs que j'ai commises.

Je suis maintenant occupé de l'impression de mon ouvrage intitulé *De la France et des Etats-Unis*; et sur lequel je crois vous avoir déjà écrit. J'ai été singulièrement secondé par M. Clavière, Genevois profondément versé dans la politique, et ce qui en est imprimé a déjà obtenu le suffrage de MM. Jefferson et Le Marquis de Lafayette. J'espère que cet ouvrage paraîtra en Mars prochain, et je m'empresserai de vous en envoyer quelques exemplaires.

M. de Crèveœur doit vous parler d'échantillons de *papiers-végétaux* que je lui ai remis pour vous les faire parvenir. Cette invention ne pourrait être que très utile à l'Amérique où les chiffons sont si rares. J'en connais l'auteur et dans le tems, je pourrai le déterminer, si les circonstances sont favorables, à en communiquer les procédés. C'est un des objets de notre société de faire jouir les Etats-Unis de nos découvertes comme de répandre ici les vôtres. M. de Crev. m'a dit par ex. que votre université et en général Boston manquent de bons maitres de françois; ce sera un de nos soins d'en chercher, et d'en faire passer, après nous être convaincus qu'ils méritent toute confiance.

En tout notre objet est de multiplier le plus qu'il sera possible nos liaisons, et je me flatte que vous voudrés bien y coopérer, en m'adressant pour la Société tout ce que vous trouverés convenable et propre à opérer de bien. Ce sera une source de correspondance utile aux deux pays. Quand cet établissement aura pris quelque consistance ici, je me propose d'aller moi même étendre ses correspondances en Amérique, où d'ailleurs d'autres raisons bien intéressantes m'appellent avant un an.

J'en serai d'autant plus charmé que je pourrai moi meme vous témoigner l'estime réelle et le respect avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être,

Monsieur

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

BRISSOT DE WARVILLE,
*Secrétaire Général de la Chancellerie
de Mgr. Le Duc d'Orléans.*

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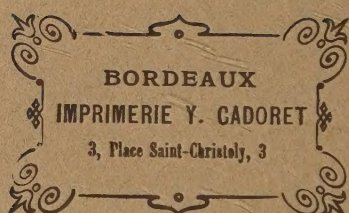
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ERRATA

- Page 39, ligne 10, *au lieu de* : nobody, *lire* : nobody.
Page 39, ligne 15, *au lieu de* : Know, *lire* : Knew.
Page 50, ligne 4, *au lieu de* : firts, *lire* : first.
Page 72, ligne 8, *au lieu de* : amouted, *lire* : amounted.
Page 77, ligne 6, *après* : abroad, *ajouter* : had.
Page 83, ligne 17, *au lieu de* : thoses, *lire* : those.
Page 85, ligne 23, *au lieu de* : mérités, *lire* : mérité.
Page 90, ligne 25, *au lieu de* : effects, *lire* : efforts.
-



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